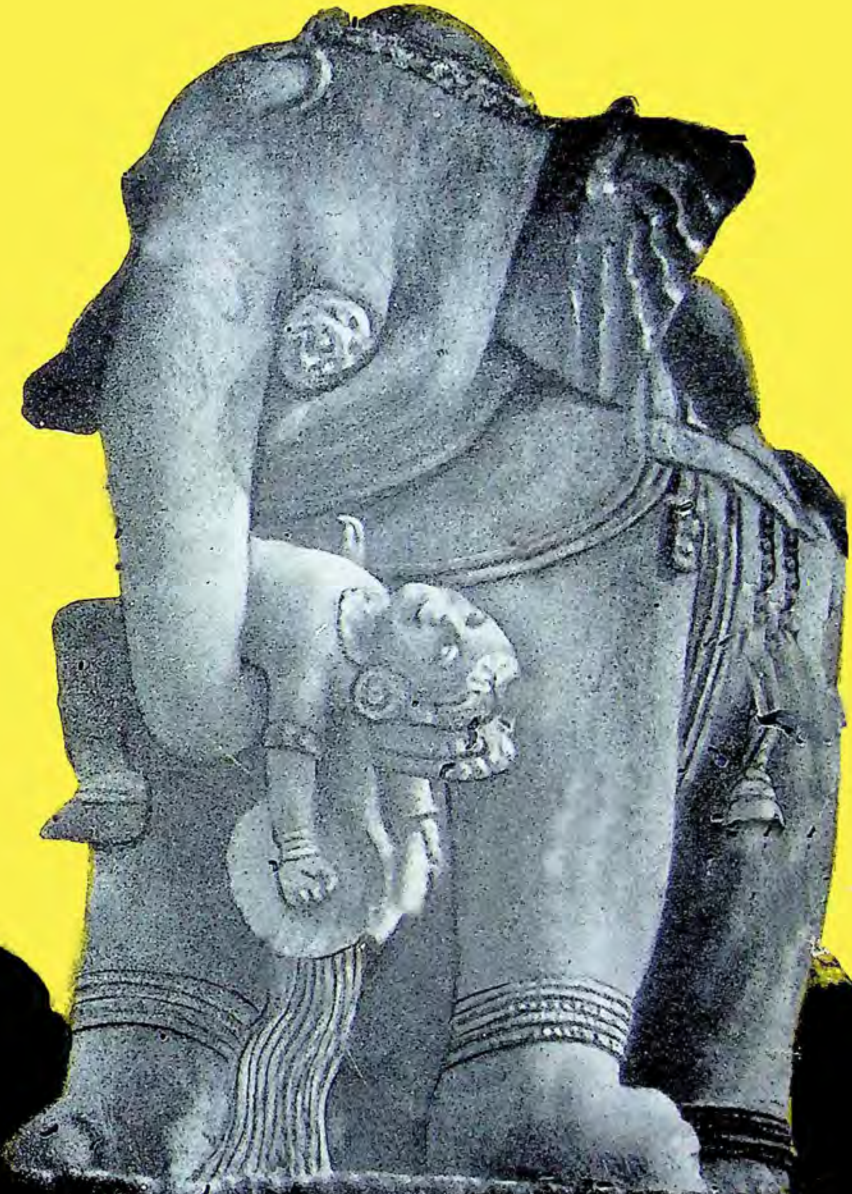

A HISTORY OF ORISSA

HUNTER • STIRLING • BEAME

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In press

ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA

Revised edition

by

RAJENDRA LAL MITTRA

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A HISTORY OF ORISSA

By

W. W. HUNTER

ANDREW STIRLING

JOHN BEAMES

N. K. SAHU

EDITED BY

N. K. SAHU, M.A., Ph.D.

Vol. I

SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) LTD

CALCUTTA 12

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To facilitate reference to the Original Records, certain letters are, when necessary, appended to quotations from Manuscripts, indicating where the Documents may be found. The following are the contractions used:

G.R.—Records of the Ganjam District in Madras.

P.R.—Records of the Puri District in Orissa.

C.R.—Records of the Cattack District in Orissa.

B.R.—Records of the Balasore District in Orissa

M.R.—Records of the Midnapur District in Bengal.

O.R.—Commissioner of Orissa's Records at Cattack.

S.P.—Survey Papers and Maps; Calcutta and District offices.

I.R.—Records of the Irrigation Department; Calcutta and Madras.

B.G.—Bengal Government Records; Secretariat, Calcutta.

B.R.R.—Board of Revenue's Records; Calcutta.

P.W.D.—Records of Public Works Department; Calcutta.

P.I.R.—Records of Public Instruction; Midnapore and Calcutta.

H.D.—Records of Home Department of Government of India.

Where the Archives of Indian Families are used, the source is sufficiently indicated in the Text.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The two volumes of W. W. Hunter's *Orissa: Or the Vicissitudes of an Indian Province under Native and British Rule* first saw the light of day in 1872 as the second and third volumes of *The Annals of Rural Bengal.* The first five chapters of the present volume and its plates are reprinted from the historical portion of Hunter's *Orissa.*

Andrew Stirling's paper *Orissa: Chronology and History* which is reprinted in the sixth chapter, first appeared in Vol. 15 of the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822 under the title of *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical. of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack.*

John Beames' *Notes on the History of Orissa under the Muhammaden, Maratha and English rule* was originally contributed to *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. 52, Part, I, 1882.

The present volume will be followed up by another companion volume incorporating the writings of Stirling, Beames and Dr. N. K. Sahu, M.A., Ph.D., a distinguished historian and Indologist, of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

We are indebted to Sri Sudhangsu Chaudhury, the well-known artist of Calcutta who was entrusted some years back with the decoration of the Indian House, London, with fresco paintings, and is himself author of a pictorial survery on the Sun Temple of Konarak, for permission to reproduce some of his excellent photographs of the temples of Orissa. Further, our thanks are due to Sri Santosh Bagchi, a mechanical engineer by profession, and Sri Susanta Ghosh for some other photographs of the temple architecture of Orissa. These photographic reproductions will be published in the second volume of this work.

We further acknowledge our indebtedness to Messrs. Prabhat Kumar Mahapatra, the well-known booksellers of Cuttuck, Orissa, for valuable suggestions and material assistance received by us in connection with the publication of this book.

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PREFACE

A History of Orissa is a reprint from the selected works of three famous Orientalists—Stirling, Hunter, and Beames. These three British scholars, inspite of their limitations and prejudices, have given a very faithful picture of the development of history and culture of Orissa based on the materials then available to them, and their writings have made the glories of Orissa known to the outside world.

Andrew Stirling, son of Admiral Stirling was born sometimes in 1793 and was educated at Haileybury, after which he came to India in 1813. At first he became the Persian Secretary to the Government of India, and then Deputy Secretary in the Political Department. In 1828 when W. B. Bayley was acting as the Governor-General, Stirling worked as his Private Secretary. He was one of the distinguished scholars of his times and his famous work *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa poper, or Cuttuck* was published in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XV in 1825. This was the first systematic exposition of the history of Orissa, and as a product of laborious researches, it formed the foundation on which the superstructure was built by Hunter and others in later times. Stirling died a premature death at Calcutta on the 23rd May 1830.[1]

Sir William Wilson Hunter was more profound as a scholar and vigorous and prodigious as a writer. He was the son of Andrew Galloway Hunter and was born on the 15th of July, 1840. Educated at Glasgow, Paris and Bonn, he came to Calcutta in 1862 and at once set himself to the task of Indological researches. His *Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia* was published in 1868 and that very year also witnessed his famous publication *The Annals of Rural Bengal.* By these scholarly works he could draw the attention of Lord Mayo and was chosen by him in 1869 to organise a statistical survey of the Indian Empire and subsequently became the Director General of Statistics in 1871. While in this capacity he completed his famous work *Orissa* which was published in two volumes

[1] Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (1906).

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from Great Britain in 1872. *The Statistical Account of Bengal* was published in 20 volumes by him during the years 1875-77, and side by side this work he supervised publication of 128 volumes of local Gazetteers out of which he prepared his famous compilation *The Imperial Gazetter of India,* 23 volumes of which were published by the year 1887, the year of his retirement from service. His *Life of Lord Mayo* published in 1875 and *Brief History of the Indian Peoples,* published in 1883, were widely appreciated. As a recognition of his talent he was made the Additional Member of the Governor General's Legislative Council from 1881 to 1887, and while in that capacity he worked as President of the Education Commission in 1882-83, as a Member of Indian Finance Commission in 1886 and as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University in 1886.

After his retirement in 1887 he settled very close to Oxford and regularly contributed weekly articles to *The times* on various problems of India. With much enthusiasm he started the publication of the Rulers of Indian Series in which he himself wrote the biographies of Lords Dalhousie and Mayo. His other works are *Bombay, The Life of Brian H. Hodgson, The Old Missionary, The Thackerays in India, Art Introduction to Bengal Manuscripts Records,* and the *Growth of British Dominion.*

Throughout his life Hunter remained a sincere student of Indian history and culture and inspired and encouraged many scholars to study and work on Indology. He died at the age of sixty on 7th February 1900.[2]

John Beames, the son of Rev. Thomas Beames, was a contemporary of W. W. Hunter and was born on June 21, 1837. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' school and at Haileybury and came to India in 1858. At first he served in the Punjab for about three years and then in Bengal as collector and also as Commissioner of various Divisions. For some time he was the Collector of Balasore and was then the Commissioner of Orissa Division wherefrom he was transferred to Sylhet. He was subsequently made a member of the Board of Revenue and retired in 1893.

Beames was a great Oriental scholar and possessed sound knowledge of Oriya, Bengali and Sanskrit languages. While in Orissa he patronised with great zeal Oriya language and literature and brought to light many palm-leaf manuscripts of Oriya works. It was his generous support and encouragement

[2] Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography.*

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that paved the path of the rise of Fakir Mohan, who is regarded as the Vyasa Kavi of Orissa and the father of Oriya novel. Beames was contributing at regular intervals learned articles to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and to the *Indian Antiquary* and some of his writings viz. *Altai Hill*, published in the J.A.S.B. Vol XLIV, Prt. I, No. I, and *More Buddhist Remains in Orissa* published in the same journal Vol. XLI Prt. I No. I, are highly appreciated by scholars. He was an earnest student of Indian Grammar and Philology and wrote many famous works on these subjects during his stay in India. His *Outlines of Indian Philology* was published in 1867, after which he edited Sir H. Elliot's, *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms* and published it in 1869. The masterpiece of his works is *A Comparative Grammar of the Arayan Languages* which was published during 1872—79 and greatly enhanced his reputation as an Orientalist. He also published a Bengali Grammar in 1891 and even after retirement continued with unflagging zeal researches on Oriental learning and wrote some talented articles in the Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Reviews. He died on May 24, 1902.[3]

These three famous scholars did valuable researches on History of Orissa throughout the 19th century and placed the history of this territory on systematic and solid foundation. Other European scholars also attempted during the early 19th century at contributing to the study of History and Culture of Orrissa, prominent among them being Ewer, whose *Khurdha Settlement Report*, published in 1818, throws a flood of light on the then economic condition of Orissa ; Toynbee, whose *History of Orissa*, published in 1828, gives a vivid picture of the early British administration of this land ; and Kittoe, whose explorations during 1836-'38 bring obscure Orissan antiquities to the knowledge of the scholar. During the 60s of the last century, Beglar, the assistant of Sir Alexander Cunningham, conducted archaeological explorations in various parts of Orissa, including the Garjat Tracts, and opened up new avenues of further exploration and researches for unravelling the glorious past of Orissa. It may, however, be said that among this group of European scholars Stirling, Hunter, and Beames, whose works are reprinted in this publication remain outstanding because of their thorough and systematic researches in depicting and linking together the dynastic, political and cultural movements in Orissa. These three luminaries are mostly

[3] Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography.*

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responsible for inspiring a host of Indian historians during the 19th and the early 20th century. Scholars like Raja Rajendralala Mitra, M. M. Chakravarty, Pyarimohan Acharya, and others carried on patient and laborious work to produce comprehensive works on Orissan History and Culture. The 20th century opened with the accumulated experience and knowledge of all these scholars and provided invaluable materials for the work of celebrated scholars like N. N. Basu, M. M. Ganguli, B. C. Mazumdar, Krupasindhu Misra, R. D. Banerji, R. P. Chand, Jagabandhu Simha, K. P. Jayaswal and many others. With them the History of Orissa made rapid strides and in the middle of the present century, Dr. H. K. Mahatab, now Governor of Bombay, culled together all the facts and finds then known to scholars and wrote a History of Orissa in a comprehensive and presentable form. But in recent times many copper plates, stone inscriptions and valuable documents have come to light as a result of which the admirable work of Dr. Mahatab requires further revision and addition of facts. Still, Orissan history is replete with many conflicting and even irreconcilable problems. The periods between Mohapadma Nanda and Asoka, between Asoka and Kharavela, as well as between Kharavela and Samudra Gupta are yet to be bridged; the find of the large hoards of Kushan coins throught Orissa has not been satisfactorily explained; the initial years of the Ganga and the Bhauma eras are not yet settled beyond dispute; and the accounts of various dynasties viz. the Matharas, Vigrahas, Manas, Sulkis, Tungas, Nandas, Barahas, Bhanjas etc. remain yet imperfect.

If so, it is idle to expect authoritative history from the writers of the 19th century who had to labour under manifold disadvantages. At a time when communication and means of conveyance were still in the midiaeval stage, when printed books on Indological subjects were very rare, when the science of photography was quite undeveloped and Archaeological sciences like Epigraphy, Numismatics, Iconography and Architecture were in their infancy, the pioneer scholars—Stirling, Hunter and Beames—had to carry out their researches with patience and determination. They had to learn Sanskrit, as well as Oriya and had to study local chronicles, legends and traditions, and move from place to place on horse back or on palanquins to study monuments scattered throughout the territory. No doubt, their accounts are sometimes inaccurate and unhistorical, at times distorted by the mendacious information of the local Pundits and occasionally blurred by their sense of superiority complex which leads to wrong conclusions. But

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notwithstanding these limitations, their works present striking exposition of Orissa's past and depict faithfully important features of her history and culture. These are still fountain-head of historical inspiration and a solid foundation for building further superstructures. In fact these are illuminating as works of history and are honoured to-day as classics.

Out of their voluminous works care has been taken to select important historical and cultural chapters for the present publication. Thus, while reprinting the monumental work of Stirling entitled *An Account, Geographical Statistical and Historical of Orissa proper, or Cuttack* only Part II—Chronology and History and Part III—Religion, Antiquities, Temples and civil Architecture are selected and Part I including General description, Boundaries, Soil, Productions, Geology, Rivers, Towns, Commerce, Population, Revenues, Political Institutions and Land Tenure etc. are not given place in the present publication. The whole account is to be found in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol XV, 1825 from pages 163 to 338. In the case of Hunter's *Orissa* (2 volumes), the lengthy Statistical Accounts and the Geographical and descriptive portions of the work are avoided and only historical and cultural chapters are edited for publication. Out of various schorlarly articles of Beames, published in different cultural journals of India, only one article entitled *Notes on the History of Orissa under Mahammadan, Marhatta and English rule,* printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LII Parts III & IV, is selected because of its accuracy and comprehensiveness and incorporated here.

While editing these works proper care has been taken not to make any material change in the body of the original writing and views and comments in the light of modern researches have been provided in the running footnotes. The original views of the writers expressed in the first person, are given proper respect and are noted verbatim in the third person. No pains have been spared to make this publication handy and up-to-date for the readers interested in the history and culture of India in general and of Orissa in particular. But inspite of of all precautions and care the book may not be found adequate and accurate at places and to make good this apprehension an outline of the political history of Orissa from the earliest times to the present day, based on up-to-date researches is provided in a companion volume to be shortly published.

N. K. S.

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INTRODUCTION

This book endeavours to delineate the inner life of an Indian Province...The narrative is embellished by no splendid historical characters, nor does it possess the interest which belongs to striking crimes. To the world's call-roll of heroes it will add not one name. The people of whom it treats have fought no great battle for human liberty, nor have they succeeded even in the more primary task of subduing the forces of nature to the control of man. To them the world stands indebted for not a single discovery which augments the comforts or mitigates the calamities of life. Even in literature—the peculiar glory of the Indian race—they have won no conspicuous triumph. They have written no famous epic; they have struck out no separate school of philosophy; they have elaborated no new system of law.

Yet if I have in any degree done justice to my materials, these pages can well dispense with the plots and scenic effects of history. Nature, long grown cold and inert in Europe, here toils as wildly at her primeval labour, as if the work of Creation still lay before her. She discloses her ancient secrets of land-making, and admits us as spectators to the miracle of the Third Day. We see the dry earth in the act of standing forth from the water, peering above the surface of once deep lakes, and pushing itself out as blunt headlands into the sea. Nor does she hide her more terrible aspect, destroying and reproducing with an equal balance; wrenching great rivers from their courses; and, by the same series of acts, providing fresh land for a thousand new homesteads, and perpetrating tragedies as appalling as the desolation of the Palatinate. Within the single province of Orissa, she has brought together, as in a great museum, specimens of all her handicrafts, from the half-formed amphibious region around the river-mouths, to the chaos of primitive rock which walls out the seaboard from the inner table-land.

Nor is the province less rich in organic remains. Upon the delta, and among the mountains which rise behind it, we come upon endless strata of races, dynasties, and creeds, from the latest alluvial deposit of Bengalis, with their soft Hinduism, to the aboriginal peoples and their hard angular faith. In Europe, the primeval tribes have disappeared from the range of observation into the twilight of hypothesis. Scholars stand like Hamlet in the Elsinore Grave-yard, and see the bones of forgotten nations thrown up at their feet. They muse over the hollow skull, measure the facial angles, and labour to recon-

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struct the lost speech. But the tongueless jaw and empty socket yield to them much the same conclusion as they did to the moralizing Prince: that here has been a fine revolution, if we had but the trick to know it. Orissa exhibits a profusion of such primitive races, not in a fossil state, but warm and breathing, living apart in their own communities, amid a world of suggestive types and links that have elsewhere disappeared. The aboriginal peoples of India have, as it were, been hidden away in hill-caves, until the great ethnical movements subsided, beneath which they would otherwise have been submerged.

I have dwelt at unusual length on the historical aspects of the principal Indian creeds. For the history of religion is, in India, the history of the people. The ethnical revolutions which brought in new ruling races, ceased in very ancient times; and during the last 1500 years, the rise and fall of the Orissa dynasties have been connected not with tribal movements, but with religious reformations. Each new line of kings represents a new era of worship and of spiritual belief. Its elevation to power takes place amid the birth-throes of a fresh popular creed; its decay is contemporaneous with the decline of the national religion; and its fall is consummated amid the extinction of the old rites and the coming in of new. The reader may perhaps think that I have given too frequent prominence to the religious side of Orissa history. But I have done so, from a firm belief that it forms the key to the right understanding of the people. Throughout all Northern India, not less than on the remote Orissa shore, dynastic revolutions and religious reformations have for centuries gone hand in hand. Buddhism and Hinduism, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs, represent a conflict of creeds not less than a struggle of races...

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CHAPTER I

JAGANNATH

For two thousand years Orissa has been the Holy Land of the Hindus. The ancient texts love to dwell on its sanctity. It is 'the land that taketh away sin.'[1] It is 'the realm established by the god,' and its Sanskrit name, Utkala-desa, literally the GLORIOUS COUNTRY, has crystallized the devotional regard of forty generations.[2] 'Of all the regions of the earth,' says an inspired sage in explaining the various places of pilgrimage to his pupils, 'India is the noblest; and of all the countries of India, Utkala boasts the highest renown. From end to end it is one vast region of pilgrimage.[3] Its happy inhabitants live secure of a reception into the world of spirits; and even those who visit it, and bathe in its sacred rivers, obtain remission of their sins, though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall adequately describe its sacred streams, its temples, its holy places, its fragrant flowers and exquisite fruits? Who shall estimate the soul's gain from a sojourn in such a land? But what need for enlarging on the praises of a realm in which the gods themselves love to dwell?'[4]

Orissa is divided into four great regions of pilgrimage. From the moment the pilgrim passes the Baitarani River, on the high road forty miles north-east of Cuttack, he treads on holy ground. Behind him lies the secular world, with its cares for the things of this life; before him is the promised land, which he has been taught to regard as a place of preparation for

[1] "Sarvapapaharam desam kshetram devaistu kalpitam" *Kapila Samhita*, Chap. II, Verse 2.

This Sanskrit work has been edited in Oriya script by Sri Radha Krishna Basu, M.A. and is published by Pandit Ratnakara Gargabatu in 1928.

[2] John Beams in consultation with the Balasore Pundits explains 'Utkala' as Ut+Kala=Katila=cut off, meaning thereby that it is named so as it is lying beyond or cut off from the Gangetic valley. Hunter's interpretation is based on the advice of the Puri Pundits, and is, no doubt, more correct. According to the Puranas Utkala was one of the three sons of Ila Sudyumna, a kimpurusha, and the territory over which he ruled, is named after him (Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Traditions*, pp. 253-54). Early Buddhist literature describes 'Ukkala' as a tribal people and the territory they inhabited as Ukkala or Utkala (*Vinaya Pitaka* vol. i, pp. 3-4, *Angu.-Nikaya* ii, p. 31, *Jataka* i, p. 80).

[3] Varshanam Bharatah Sreshtho desanamutkalah Srutah, Utkalasya samo deso deso nasti mahitala Atraivodaharantimamitihasam puratanam, (Kapila Sam. Ch. 1, Verses 8-9).

[4] Kapila Sam. Ch. 1.; Stirling's Account of Orissa Proper, *Asiatic Researches*. Vol. xv. p. 166.

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heaven. On the southern side of the river rises shrine after shrine to Siva, the All-Destroyer. On its very bank he beholds the house of Yama, the king of the dead ; and as he crosses over, the priest whispers into his ear the last text which is breathed over the dying Hindu at the moment the spirit takes its flight: 'In the dread gloom of Yama's halls is the tepid BAITARANI RIVER.'[5] On leaving the stream he enters Jajpur, literally the City of Sacrifice, the headquarters of the region of pilgrimage,[6] sacred to Parvati, the wife of the All-Destroyer. To the south-east is the region of pilgrimage sacred to the sun,[7] now scarcely visited, with its matchless ruins looking down in desolate beauty across the Bay of Bengal. To the south-west is the region of pilgrimage dedicated to Siva,[8] with its city of temples, which once clustered, according to Indian tradition, to the number of seven thousand, around the sacred lake. Beyond this, nearly due south, is the region of pilgrimage beloved of Vishnu, known to every hamlet throughout India, and to every civilised nation on earth, as the abode of Jagannath, the LORD OF THE WORLD.[9]

There is not a fiscal division in Orissa without its community of cenobites, scarcely a village without fertile abbey lands, and not a single ancient family which has not devoted its best acres to the gods. Hundreds of monasteries dot the province, and enjoy an aggregate rent-roll of £50,000 a year.[10] Every town is filled with temples, and every hamlet has its shrine. This lavish devotion extends into the hill-country. In going up the Mahanadi, I noticed that each rocky islet, or wooded crag that rose from its banks, was crowned, not, as upon the Rhine, by the castle of a noble, but by a temple to some god. Even foreigners feel that they are treading on hallowed ground ; and the villagers still tell how the image-breaking Muhammadans retired abashed before the sanctity of Orissa. 'This country is no fit subject for conquest, or for schemes of human ambition,' exclaimed the victorious general

[5] 'Yamalaya mahaghore tapta Vaitarani nadi.' Buddhists also say 'Yamassa Vetaranim' (Samyutta Nik. Vol. I, P. 21) thus supporting Brahmanical tradition.

[6] Jajpur is long famous as Viraja Kshetra. In the *Mahabharata*, Book III, Ch. 85, it is stated:—

"Tato Vaitaranim gatva sarvapapapramochanim Viraja—tirthamasadya virajati yatha sasi." Viraja is a form of Durga.

[7] Konarka, which is famous as Arkakshetra.

[8] Bhuvanesvara, the celebrated Saiva Kshetra.

[9] Purushottama Puri, the most famous Vaishnava Kshetra in India.

Orissa is traditionally divided into five great religious zones, out of which Hunter has mentioned only four. The fifth one is Mahavinayak, dedicated to Ganesa and is famous as Vinayaka Kshetra. Thus Orissa is the land of the Panchadevatas—Ganesa, Rudra, Naraya-na, Ambika and Bhaskara—the five principal deities of Hinduism.

[10] Report of Committee to enquire into the Mathas of Orissa, dated 25th March, 1869, Para 15.

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of Akbar in 1580; 'it belongs to the gods, and from end to end is one region of pilgrimage.'[11]

This national reverence for holy places has been for ages concentrated on the city of Puri, sacred to Vishnu under his title of Jagannath, the Lord of the World. As the outlying position of Orissa long saved it from conquest, and from that dilapidation of ancient Hindu shrines and rites which marks the Muhammadan line of march through India, so Puri, built upon its extreme south-eastern shore, and protected on the one side by the surf, and on the other by swamps and inundations, is the corner of Orissa which has been most left to itself. On these inhospitable sands, Hindu religion and Hindu superstition have stood at bay for eighteen centuries against the world. Here is the national temple whither the people flock to worship from every province of India. Here is the Swarga-dwara, the GATE OF HEAVEN, whither thousands of pilgrims come to die, lulled to their last sleep by the roar of the eternal ocean. Twenty generations of devout Hindus have gone through life, haunted with a perpetual yearning to visit this shrine. On its fever-stricken sand-hills a nation's adoring love has been lavished. They are Puri, '*the* City' of its religious aspirations on earth; they are Purushottama, the dwelling of Vishnu, 'the Best of Men'; they are the symbolical Blue Mountain; they are the mystic navel of the earth. 'Even Siva is unable to comprehend its glory; how feeble, then, the efforts of mortal men!'[12]

This great yearning after Jagannath is to some extent the outcome of centuries of companionship in suffering between the people and their god. In every disaster of Orissa, Jagannath has borne his share. In every flight of the people before an invading power, he has been their comrade. The priests, indeed, put the claims of their god upon higher ground. 'In the first boundless space,' they say, 'dwelt the Great God, whom men call Narayan, or Parameswar, or Jagannath.' But without venturing beyond this world's history, the first indistinct dawn of Orissa tradition discloses Puri as the refuge of an exiled creed. In the uncertain dawn of Indian tradition, the highly spiritual doctrines of Buddha obtained shelter here; and the GOLDEN TOOTH of the founder remained for centuries at Puri, then the Jerusalem of the Buddhists, as it has for centuries been of the Hindus.[13]

[11] Quoted from Stirling, *As. Res.* xv, 167, 291.

[12] Hunter quotes these lines from Amos Sutton's *Orissa*, P. 124, which are taken from some Oriya booklets written for the devoted pilgrims.

[13] For the story of the Tooth relic of the Buddha vide Datha Vamsa edited by B. C. Law. The Tooth relic was enshrined at Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga, identified by Sylvain Levi with Palura in Ganjam district (*Ind. Antiquary*, 1926, May, pp. 94-98). It was taken away to Ceylon sometimes during the last quarter of the 3rd. Century A.D.

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Jagannath makes his first historical appearance in the year 318 A.D., when the priests fled with the sacred image, and left an empty city to Red-arm and his buccaneers. For 150 years it remained buried in the western jungles, till a pious prince drove out the foreigners, and brought back the sacred Log.[14] Three times has it been buried in the Chilka Lake; and whether the invaders were pirates from the sea, or the devouring cavalry of Afghanistan, the first thing that the people saved was their god.

Nor was lord Jagannath, although hurried away helpless in a covered cart, unable to defend himself by spiritual arms. In 1558 the Moslem general tracked him to his hiding-place, and digging him up, carried him off on an elephant to the Ganges. There he determined to make an end of the god of Orissa, and threw him on a blazing pile of wood. In the same moment the vaunting Moslem's limbs dropped off, and he fell dead. A looker-on snatched the image unharmed from the fire, and cast it into the river. Holy Mother Ganges knew the god, and floated him safely down her stream, till a priest, who had followed Jagannath into exile, rescued him from the river, and extracting the immortal part from his bosom, brought it safely back to Orissa.[15]

But the true source of Jagannath's undying hold upon the Hindu race consists in the fact that he is the god of the people. As long as his towers rise upon the Puri sands, so long will there be in India a perpetual and visible protest of the equality of man before God. His apostles penetrate to every hamlet of Hindusthan preaching the sacrament of the HOLY FOOD.[16] The poor outcast learns that there is a city on the far eastern shore in which high and low eat together, and in the presence of the LORD OF THE WORLD priest and peasant are equal. The rice that has once been placed before the god can never cease to be pure, or lose its reflected sanctity. In the courts of Jagannath, and outside LION GATE, 100,000 pilgrims every year are joined in the sacrament of eating the holy food. The lowest may demand it from or give it to the highest. Its sanctity overleaps all barriers, not only caste, but of race and hostile faith; and I have seen a Puri priest put to the test of receiving the food from a Christian's hand.

Woe to him who denies the divine efficacy of the Mahaprasad, the GREAT OFFERING! A hundred tales among the people warn priestly arrogance of the wrath of a despised god.

[14] Hunter takes this account from Madala Panji, the Jagannath temple chronicle. This work has been edited by Sri Artaballabha Mahanty on behalf of the Prachi Samiti.

[15] Madala Panji, cited *As. Res.* XV. 290.

[16] Mahaprasad, rice offered to Jagannath; it is also known as Kaivalya meaning Mukti or salvation.

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There came a proud man from Northern India, who swore that he would look upon the LORD OF THE WORLD, but that he would eat no leavings of mortal or immortal being. But as he crossed the bridge outside the sacred city, his arms and legs fell off, and there he lay on the road-side for two months, till a dog came out of the town eating a fragment of the holy food, and dropped some as he passed. The proud man crawled forward on his stomach, and grubbing with his mouth in the mire, ate the leavings, all slavered from the jaws of the unclean animal. Thereupon the mercy of the good lord Jagannath visited him; new limbs were given to him, and he entered the holy city as a humble disciple.[17] 'God's pity,' says the chief apostle of Jagannath, 'knows neither family nor tribe.[18] 'Not the learned in the four holy scriptures, but the lowly man who believes, is dear to me; to him be given, and from him be received; let him be reverenced even as I am reverenced.'[19]

Besides this perpetual appeal to the popular instinct, the worship of Jagannath aims at a Catholicism which embraces every form of Indian belief, and every Indian conception of the Deity. Nothing is too high, and nothing is too low, to find admission into his temple. The fetishism and bloody rites of the aboriginal races, the mild flower-worship of the Vedas, and every compromise between the two,[20] along with the lofty spiritualities of the great Indian Reformers, have here found refuge. The rigid monotheism of Ramanuja in the twelfth century,[21] the monastic system of Ramananda in the fifteenth,[22] the mystic quietism of Chaitanya at the beginning of the sixteenth,[23] and the

[17] Hunter says that he got this story from an Oriya servant.

[18] 'Iswarerkripa Jati Kula Nahi Mane'—Chaitanya Charitamrita.

[19] Name bhaktaschaturvedi madbhaktah swapachah priyah.
Tasmai deyam tato grahyam sa cha pujyo yatha hyaham (Niladri Mahodaya).

[20] Jagannath worship includes Tantric rites, according to which fish, meat and wine are symbolically offered to the deities. On the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Dasahra a goat is sacrificed before Vimala, within the precinct of Jagannath temple. We do not find anything like "mild flower worship" in the Vedas. Hunter here means that Jagannath worship embodies every compromise between the religious customs of the aboriginal peoples and the Vedic rites of the civilised Aryans.

[21] Ramanuja flourished in the 11th century A.D. His philosophic theory is called 'Visishtadvaita' or Non-dualism of the determinate Brahman.

[22] Ramananda was a follower of Ramanuja and was the fifth in succession from the master. "He tried to re-establish God's kingdom (Rama-rajya) on earth by spreading its triple truths of monarchy, monogamy and monotheism in the political, social and religious aspects of life and thus became the precurser of Mahatma Gandhi." (Radhakrishnan, *Hist. of Phil.—Eastern and Western*, p. 320).

[23] Chaitanya was born in 1485 and died in 1533. He is said to have preached the philosophy of 'Achintya-Bhedabheda,' which is a form of idealistic Monism that reconciles all dualities in a superlogical unity.

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luxurious love-worship of the Vallabhacharis towards its close,[24] mingle within the walls of Jagannath at this present day. He is Vishnu, under whatever form and by whatever title men call upon his name.

But not content with thus representing Vishnu in all his manifestations, the priests have superadded the worship of the other members of the Hindu trinity in their various shapes; and the disciple of every Indian sect can find his beloved rites, and some form of his chosen deity, within the sacred precincts. Scholars tell us that in prehistoric times the Hindu race fell into polytheism by recognising God too vividly in His manifestations, and worshipping the work rather than the worker. Jagannath represents the final result of the converse process. It exhibits the goal to which a highly intellectual race painfully arrives after ages of polytheism, during which the masses were sunk in darkness, while the higher spirits of each generation have been groping after the ONE ETERNAL DEITY. Noble conceptions of the Creator, and profound views concerning His dealings with man, are welded together with degrading superstitions, and declare how vain are the efforts of the human intellect to search out God.

Here, then, is a great phenomenon in the inner history of a nation, over which those who would study the workings of the religious instinct in man's heart will do well to pause. In order to understand what Jagannath now is to the Hindus, it is necessary to learn what he has for ages been. I purpose, therefore, to examine stage by stage that complex growth of enchaining superstitions and of yearnings after truth, which, nourished by the pilgrim bones of centuries, and watered by the tears of millions of disciples, now spreads itself out in full-grown luxuriance upon the Puri sands.

The very origin of Jagannath proclaims him not less the god of the Brahmans than of low-caste aboriginal races. The various accounts differ less in their substance than in their details. The following story of the DIVINE LOG is one of the most popular legends of Orissa, and was taken down for me upon the spot.[25]

[24] Vallabhacharya flourished in the 15th century and advocated a system which he himself called 'Suddhadvaita' or pure non-dualism devoid of the concept of maya. His teachings of pushti-bhakti glorify the intense love of Radha and Krishna.

[25] It is entitled 'the Daru Brahma' and has a wide circulation in Oriya literature. Like most of the religous legends of the people, it is an adaptation from the Puranas. Vide *Skanda Purana* Chaps. 16-27. We also come across this story in Brahma Purana, Narada Purana, Padma Purana, Kapila Samhita and in Niladri-Mahodaya. See in this connection *As. Res.* xv,317; Ward's *History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus*, ii, 163; T. N. Ramachandran in *JAHRS*. Prof. R. Subba Rao-Shashtipurthi Number, P. 93.

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For a long time in the golden age, men had been seeking for the god Vishnu throughout the earth. So the good king Indradyumna sent out Brahmans from his realm of Malwa to the east and to the west, and to the north and to the south. And those who went to the west, and to the north, and to the south, returned; but he who went to the east returned not. For he who had gone to the east had journeyed through the great jungle till he came to the country of the Savars, the old people of Orissa, and there he dwelt in the house of Basu, a fowler of the wilderness; and Basu, seeing the man to be a Brahman, had forced him by threats to marry his daughter, and thus to bring honour to his tribe. This the Brahman did, and abode in the villages of the ancient people.

Now Basu was a servant of Jagannath, the lord of the world, and daily he went into the jungle to offer fruits and flowers in secret to his god. But one morning, moved by the prayers of his daughter, he took the Brahman with him, binding his eyes by the ways so that he might behold the lord Jagannath in his holy place, and yet that he should not know the way thither. Then the Brahman, having received from his wife a bag of mustard-seed, dropped it as he went blindfold through the forest till he reached the shrine, and the old man unbound his eyes. There he beheld lord Jagannath in the form of a blue stone image,[26] at the foot of the undying fig-tree. Presently the old man left him, and went to gather the daily offering of flowers. Then the Brahman prayed to the LORD OF THE WORLD. And as he poured out his heart, a crow that sat rocking herself upon a branch above fell down before the god, and suddenly taking a glorious form, soared into the heaven of Vishnu. The Brahman, seeing how easy the path to eternal bliss appeared to be from this holy spot, climbed into the tree, and would have thrown himself down; but a voice from heaven cried, 'Hold, Brahman! First carry to thy king the good news that thou hast found the LORD OF THE WORLD.'

At the same moment the fowler came back with his newly gathered fruits and flowers, and spread them out before the image. But, alas, the god came not, according to his wont, to partake of the offering. Only a voice was heard saying 'Oh, faithful servant, I am wearied of thy jungle flowers and fruits, and crave for cooked rice and sweetmeats. No longer shalt thou see me in the form of thy BLUE GOD.[27] Hereafter I shall be known as Jagannath, the lord of the world.' Then the fowler sorrowfully led the Brahman back to his house, but the BLUE GOD appeared no more to that poor man of the ancient people.

[26] The common chlorite of the Orissa hills of which most of the old images now found in Orissa are made.

[27] Nil-Madhab.

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For a long time the fowler kept the Brahman captive in the wilderness; but at last, moved by the tears of his daughter, he allowed him to depart to tell that the LORD OF THE WORLD had been found. When the king heard the good news he rejoiced, and set out with his army of 1,300,000 footmen, and a vast company of wood-cutters to hew a road through the great jungle. So they journeyed 800 miles, till they reached the Blue Mountain. Then the king's heart swelled within him, and he cried, 'Who is like unto me, whom the LORD OF THE WORLD has chosen to build his temple, and to teach men in this age of darkness to call on his name?' But the lord Jagannath was wroth at the king's pride, and a voice was heard from heaven saying, 'O king! thou shalt indeed build my temple, but me thou shalt not behold. When it is finished, then thou shalt seek anew for thy god.' At that same moment the blue image vanished from off the earth.

So the king built the temple, but saw not the god; and when the temple was finished, he found no man on earth holy enough to consecrate it. Therefore King Indradyumna went to heaven to beg Brahma to come down and consecrate the temple. But Brahma had just begun his devotions, and could not be disturbed. Now the devotions of Brahma last for nine ages of mortal men; and while Indradyumna waited in heaven, many other kings had reigned on earth. The city that he had built around the temple had crumbled into ruins, and the lofty fane itself was buried under the drifting sand of the sea. One day, as the king of the place was riding along the beach, his horse stumbled against the pinnacle of the forgotten shrine. Then his servants, searching to find the cause, dug away the sand, and there was the temple of lord Jagannath, fair and fresh as at the time of its building.

So when Brahma's devotions were over, and he came down with Indradyumna to consecrate the shrine, the king of the place claimed it as the work of his own hands. Therefore Brahma commanded that witnesses should be heard, and first he called upon the crow. But the crow was busy with her devotions, and cried, 'Who art thou that callest me?' 'It is I, Brahma, the master of the Vedas; and dost thou, poor carrion-bird, dare to despise my summons?' Then said the ancient crow, 'Which Brahma art thou? I have seen a thousand Brahmas live and die. There was he with a thousand faces, whose existence was as a period of five days to me. Thou wast born but yesterday from the body of Vishnu, and commandest thou me!' Then Brahma entreated the crow, and she declared that it was Indradyumna that had built the temple.

But for all this, King Indradyumna found not the god. So with austerities and penance he ceased not to call upon Jagannath, till the LORD OF THE WORLD appeared to him in a vision,

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and showed him his image as a block of timber half thrown up from ocean upon the sand. Then the king, with his army and 5,000 male elephants, tried to drag the block with crimson cords to the temple; but he could not, until, chidden for his presumption by lord Jagannath in a vision, he summoned Basu the fowler to his aid.

Thereafter the king gathered together all the carpenters in his country, and gave them lands and villages as the price for fashioning the block into an image of lord Jagannath. But when they put their chisels on the wood, the iron lost its edge; and when they struck them with their mallets, the mallets missed and crushed their hands; till at last the lord Vishnu came down in the form of an aged carpenter; and by signs and wonders declared his power unto the king. Him the king shut up alone in the temple with the block, and swore that no man should enter for twenty-one days, sealing the doors with his own seal. But the queen longed to see the face of the god, that he might redeem her life from barrenness. So she persuaded her husband; and he, opening the door before the end of the promised time, found the three images of Jagannath, and his brother and sister, fashioned from the waist upwards. But Jagannath and his brother had only stumps for arms, while his sister had none at all, and even so they remain to this day.[28] Then the king prayed to the god; and being asked to choose a blessing, begged that offerings should never cease in all time to come before the images, and that the temple should ever remain open from daybreak until midnight for the salvation of mankind.

'So shall it be,' said the vision. 'But they are matters which concern me. Ask for thyself.' 'I ask, then,' said the king, 'that I may be the last of my race, that none who come after me may say, I built this temple; I taught men to call on the name of Jagannath.' Thus it fell out that the good king Indradyumna was the last of his line.

In this legend at least two distinct stories are mixed up. Its latter part probably refers to the exile of Jagannath during the Yavana occupation of Orissa, A. D. 318 to 473. The pious founder of the Lion dynasty, who expelled the intruders, is still called the second Indradyumna; and the rebuilder of the temple in A. D. 1198 also enjoys this title.[29] The first part of the

[28] This account has close resemblance with the Buddhist episode narrated by Yuan Chwang, the Chinese Pilgrim, in connection with the unfinished Buddha image in the great temple of Buddha Gaya. For the story of the half finished Buddha image vide R. L. Mitra, Buddha Gaya Ch. 1, pp. 10-20; also Memoires Sur les contrees occidentales. i. pp. 465-68.

[29] The so-called Yavana occupation of Orissa is now believed to be the occupation by the Murundas, who came to India along with the Kushanas and ruled for some times during the early Christian centuries over Eastern India. To them are attributed the large hoards of imitation

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legend shadows forth the original importation of Vishnu-worship by an Aryan king from the north-west, and its amalgamation with the aboriginal rites existing in Orissa. It is worthy of note, that although a Brahman figures in this as in all the religious legends of the Hindus, he is not the principal person. An ancient text mentions that Vishnu was specially 'the god of the kingly and warrior caste,'[30] and we find in this legend that it is the king who plays the chief part in introducing his worship.

In another volume I have pointed out that every Aryan family of ancient descent in Lower Bengal traces its origin to Upper India.[31] So when we come to analyze the legends of Aryan faith, we find that the gods of the lower valley of the Ganges begin with a migration from the north. The salient points in such stories are always the same. They consist essentially of a Brahman or Rajput from Upper India, and of a race of herdsmen or hunters in the great jungle of Lower Bengal. Every ancient pedigree, whether of a family or a god, in Lower Bengal, ring the changes on these very simple materials, and proclaim in an unmistakeable manner that the Aryan march through India was not entirely one of conquest. In most of these legends the aboriginal race turns up again and again, long after the first Aryan settlement among them. Nor do the primitive tribes appear invariable as serfs or as hewers of wood, but sometimes as warlike allies, or, as in the case of Basu the fowler, in mysterious connection with the introduction of the present Hindu faith.

In the foregoing legend we find the aboriginal people worshipping a blue stone in the depths of the forest. But the deity has grown tired of the jungle offerings of the primitive people, and longs for the cooked food of the more civilised Aryan race. When the Aryan element at length comes on the scene, the rude blue stone disappears, and gives place to a carved image. At the present hour, in every hamlet of Orissa, this twofold worship co-exists. The common people have their shapeless stone or block, which they adore with simple rites in the open air; while side by side with it is a temple to one of the Aryan gods, with its carved image and elaborate rites. Some shapeless log, or a black stone, or the red-stained trunk of a tree, is still the object of adoration among the masses.

Kushan coins found in all parts or Orissa. The traditional view that they were expelled by King Yajati of Kesari (Lion) dynasty is wrong. Yajati Mahasivagupta II (10th century A.D.) belongs to the Soma (Luner) dynasty and he is said to have first constructed the temple of Jagannath at Puri. The rebuilder of the temple is Chodagangadeva who ruled from 1078 to 1147 A.D.

[30] H. H. Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, I, 2 .

[31] Cf. 'The Pundit's chronicle of Beerbhoom' at page 426 of Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, vol. i, 3rd ed.

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I have questioned the villagers a hundred times about their religious beliefs. But the answer has invariably been, 'that the common people have no idea of religion but to do right, and to worship the village god.'

In the reply of the crow to Brahma is preserved an acknowledgment that the present Aryan system of worship was preceded by religious cycles that have disappeared. The Aryan king might come with his army from the north, but he had to accept as his deity the primitive god of the country. Even after the temple had been built, everything was again at a stand-still, until the fowler of the wilderness, although now one of the lowest castes, reappears upon the scene. The poor aboriginal bird-killer, whose blue stone image disappeared before the Brahmans and their elaborate rites, has for hundreds of years been known by the name of Basu,[32] an epithet from which the god Vishnu derives one of his most august titles.

The worship of Vishnu was not, however, the first form of the Aryan faith that penetrated these remote jungles of the seaboard. In another chapter I shall relate how, for centuries before and after the birth of Christ, the rock caves of Orissa resounded with the chants of Buddhist monks, hymning the praises of one God. But about the fourth century of our era, Buddhism in Orissa begins to lose its sharply marked identity, and we become conscious that other forms of spiritual life are struggling to evolve themselves. What were the birth-throes of these new faiths, we know not; but three centuries later we find the process complete. The great City of Temples, Bhuvaneswar, dedicated to Siva, dates from the seventh century.[33] This worship incorporated the doctrines of the Aryan conquerors with the rites of the aboriginal races. The doctrines were spiritual, and it kept them in the inner sanctuary for its Aryan

[32] The etymology of Vasu-deva is explained in the *Vishnu Purana* lib. 1 Cap. 2, as 'the god who dwells in all things, and in whom all things dwell' (Sarvatrasan Samastam cha Vasatyatra); from the root, Vas, to dwell. The same explanation is also given by the *Mahabharata* in the Narayaniya section of Santi Parva, Ch. 339—Ch. 342. See H. H. Wilson's note to *Vishnu Purana*, Vol. I, P. 17, ed. 1864. Vasu, the name of the fowler, in the above legend, etymologically means 'the dweller.' Hunter thinks that this name is given to him by the Sanskrit writer of the legend, by a reflex process from the name of his god Vasu-deva, or because he is the typical aboriginal dweller in the land throughout the story. The word is also used as a name for Vishnu, and the writer of the legend may mean that the aboriginal fowler was himself Vishnu in an earlier form.

There are eight Vasus (with the first syllable short) in Hindu Mythology, viz. Soma, the Moon; Anila, the wind; Anala, the fire; Dhava; Dhruva; Pratyusha; Prabhasa; and Vishnu. Vide *Sabdakalpa-druma* of Raja Radhakanta Dev, and the Bengali *Sabdartha Ratnamala*.

[33] The origin of the Saivite city of Bhuvanesvara may be placed earlier than the 6th century A.D. The earliest Siva temples of this place—the Satrughnesvara group—have been assigned to the 6th century.

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priests. Its rites were gross and bloody, and it paraded them in its outer courts as a bait to the mixed populace. It fixed its seat in the west of Puri district, where the mountains and forest tracts of Central India slope down on the alluvial plain. There it struck its roots deep in the ignorance and the fears of a people who knew God only by the more terrible manifestations of His power ; as a God mighty indeed, but to be dreaded rather than loved. It deliberately utilized the religious instinct of the aboriginal races—an instinct always morbidly sensitive among forest tribes—to shut them out from God, and to enslave them to man. And so it built for itself its vast City of Temples around the sacred lake,—a city which for twelve centuries has lifted its thousand towers and pinnacles in protest to the blue heaven against the priestly impiety which founded the worship of God on the ignorance of His people.[34]

But side by side with Siva-worship, we are dimly conscious of another spiritual form struggling into life. The worship of Vishnu likewise took its doctrines and all its inner mysteries from the ancient Aryan faith, and engrafted upon them rites which appealed to the imaginations and the passions of a tropical race. Both Sivaism and Vishnuvism were attempts to bring the gods down to men. The former plunged boldly into the abyss of superstition, and erected its empire without shame or scruple upon the ignorance and terrors of the people. The worship of Vishnu shrank from such lengths, and tried to create a system wide enough and strong enough for a national religion, by mixing a somewhat less base alloy with the fine gold of Aryan spirituality. It was a religion in all things graceful. Its gods are bright, friendly beings, who walk and converse with men. Its legends breathe an almost Grecian beauty. But pastoral simplicities and an exquisite ritual had no chance against a system like Sivaism, that pandered to the grossest superstitions of the masses. The spiritual element in Vishnu-worship has no doubt always existed among the Aryan settlements throughout India. But its popular conquests have generally been subsequent to those of Sivaism ; and this is the case in a very marked manner in Orissa, the province with which I have now to deal.

In the eleventh century the Vishnuvite doctrines were gathered into a great religious treatise. The *Vishnu Purana* dates from about the year 1045 A. D.,[35] and probably represents, as indeed its name implies, 'ancient' forms of belief that had co-existed with Sivaism and Buddhism for centuries. It derives

[34] Hunter appears to have misunderstood the significance of Siva-worship. Siva is the god of bliss, and the Saivaite rites are anything but "gross and bloody."

[35] H. H. Wilson's computation, p. cxii, of Preface to the *Vishnu Purana,* ed. 1864.

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its system from the Vedas; not, however, in a direct channel, but filtered through the two great epic poems. It forms one of eighteen religious treatises which, under the name of Puranas, or the Ancient Sayings, are devoted to the mythology and legendary history of the Hindus. These works especially extol the members of the Hindu Trinity, now claiming the pre-eminence for Vishnu, and now for Siva; but in their nobler flights always rising to a recognition that both are but manifestations of one eternal God.

Interesting and valuable as these records are to European scholars, they were but dry husks for a nation's soul to feed upon. Their interminable dialogues run to 1,600,000 lines.[36] But we search through the unwieldy mass in vain for any genuine sympathy with the people. The *Vishnu Purana*, compiled barely 800 years ago, starts with an intolerance equal to that of the ancient code of Manu. It still declares the priests to have sprung from the mouth, and the low-castes from the feet, of God.[37] Its stately theogony disdains to touch the legends of the people. Its cosmography confines itself to the Aryan world. It declares, indeed, that there is one God; but this God is the God of the Brahmans, to whom he gives the earth as an inheritance, and in whose eyes the ancient races are as demons or wild beasts. In the *Vishnu Purana*, Buddha is still an arch-heretic who teaches the masses to despise the Veda, but whose disciples are eventually crushed by the bright Aryan gods. It is true that in the concluding book, when treating of the last Iron Age to which this world has now come, some nobler idea of God's dealing with man gleams forth. In that time of universal dissolution and darkness the sage consoles us by the fact, that devotion to Vishnu will suffice for salvation to all persons and to all castes.[38]

Vishnuvism had to preach a far different doctrine before it could become, as it has for ages been, the popular religion of Orissa. These withered sticks of mythology could never blossom forth into a national faith. Sivaism had also its ancient sayings, and it outrivalled Vishnu worship by a ritual singularly adapted to terrify and enchain the masses. But about the middle of the twelfth century a great change began to take place. Up to that time, Vishnuvism had been the religion of the upper ranks. Jagannath, although unknown to the Vedas,[39]

[36] H. H. Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, p. xxiv.

[37] Lib. i cap. vi.

[38] *Vishnu Purana*, lib. vi, Chap. 2; H. H. Wilson, *V. P.* cxxx, viii, 1864.

[39] The Samkhayana Brahmana seems to have refered to Jagannath in the following verse:—

"Adau yaddaru plavate sindhohpare apurusham
Tada labhasva durduno tena yahi paramsthalam."

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had ever been the companion of the ruling race in Orissa. We find him sharing the flights of the priests, and appearing in the dreams of kings. But from the twelfth century a curious movement began. Vishnuvism in its turn began to throw itself upon the people. Sivaism had enlisted their ignorant terrors; Vishnuvism was soon to appeal to the eternal instinct of human liberty and equality. The first stirring of the waters commenced in Southern India. There, Ramanuja, about 1150 A. D., persecuted from city to city, proclaimed the unity of God under the title of Vishnu, the Cause and the Creator of all. The preacher made converts from every class, but it was reserved for his successors formally to enunciate equality of caste before God as an article of the Vishnuvite faith.

And meanwhile the great temple of Jagannath, which now stands at Puri, was built. It was a last magnificent assertion of autocratic devotion. In 1193 A. D. King Anang Bhim Deo, II, ascended the throne of Orissa. He ruled all the country from the Hughly River on the north to the Godavari on the south, and from the forest frontier of Sonpur on the west, eastward to the Bay of Bengal. This vast kingdom he measured with rods, assigning nearly two-thirds for the support of his armies and priests, while more than one-third paid rent direct into the royal treasury for the king's own pleasures. The whole extended over forty thousand square miles.[40] But in the midst of his grandeur he was struck down by a great calamity. He unhappily slew a Brahman, and the rest of his life became one grand expiation of the guilt. Tradition relates that he built sixty stone temples to the gods; bridged ten broad rivers; dug forty great wells, and encased them with solid masonry; constructed one hundred and fifty-two flights of stairs on the river-banks as bathing places and points of transit; founded four hundred and fifty colonies of Brahmans upon lands granted out of the royal demesne; and excavated one million of tanks to protect the crops of the husbandmen.

To him appeared lord Jagannath in a dream, and commanded him to journey to the sands of Puri, and there to call on his name. So the king in the twelfth year of his reign journeyed to Puri, and offered up his prayers. Thereafter he gathered around him his princes and vassals, and all the chief men of his state, and said: 'Hear, O chiefs and princes! It is known to you that the kings of the ancient Lion Line ruled a wide country, and enjoyed a revenue of fifteen hundred thousand measures of gold. But by the grace of lord Jagannath, the princes of my line have subdued many chiefs, and peoples, and enlarged the kingdom, so that my revenues are now three and a half millions of measures of gold. Out of this I have

[40] See Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. 270.

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assigned fixed sums for the payment of my generals, for the captains of my horses and of my elephants, for the priests, and for the temples of the gods. Princes and chiefs! touch not these grants, lest ye suffer the penalty which the holy scriptures denounce against those who take back that which has been given. Above all, in the countries under your charge, be merciful to the people. Be just to the husbandmen, and exact no more than the established rates. And now I have gathered together a great treasure. Four millions of measures of gold have I taken from the nations I conquered, and jewels to the value of eight hundred thousand measures of gold besides. What can I do better with this great treasure than build a temple to the lord Jagannath? Speak freely your minds with regard to the work.'

And so that great temple of Jagannath was built as it now stands, all the chiefs and princes applauding the king's speech. Gold and jewels to the value of a million and a half measures of gold were set apart for the work, being estimated at half a million sterling in the money of our time. Fourteen years the artificers laboured, and the temple was finished in A. D. 1198.[41]

At the end of the thirteenth century according to some authorities, or at the end of the fourteenth according to others, the great reformation which made Viṣhnu-worship a national religion of India took place. The early movement in Southern India had left behind it a line of disciples. Ramanand was the first in the inspired descent to illustrate the doctrines in Northern India. Whether he was the immediate disciple of the southern teacher, or the fourth or fifth in the descent, matters little to us. We only know for certain, that when the first religious awakenings were taking place in modern Europe, there appeared in Hindustan a prophet of note, who wandered from place to place, preaching One God to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and choosing twelve disciples, not from among the priests or nobles, but from the despised castes.[42] One of them

[41] The Kendu Patna copper plates of Narasimhadev II (JASB, 1898, No. 4) state that Chodagangadeva (1078-1147 A.D.) constructed the temple of Jagannath. Anangabhimadeva II, the son of Chodaganga probably completed the construction of the temple. Madala Panji, however, credits Anangabhima as the builder. According to tradition the construction of the temple of Jagannath was completed in Saka year Randhra-Subhramsu-Rupa-Nakshatra Nayaka (Randhra=8, Subhramasu=1, Rupa=1, and Nakshatra Nayaka=1). Reversing the digits we get 1118 Saka year=1196-97 A.D.

See Brij Kishore Ghosh, *Hist. Puri,* p. 10; and Stirling, *As. Res.* xv, p. 269, 315.

The king's speech is abridged from *As. Res.* xv. 270-71.

[42] The following twelve are known to be the chief disciples of Ramananda. 1. Ravi-das (shoe maker), 2. Kabir (Muhammadan weaver), 3. Dhanna (jath), 4. Sena (barber), 5. Pipa (Rajput), 6. Bhavananda, 7. Sukhananda, 8. Asananda, 9. Sur-Surananda, 10. Paramananda, 11. Mahananda, 12. Sri-Ananda.

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was a leather-dresser, another of them a barber, and the most distinguished of them all was a weaver. The list shows that every caste, without distinction, found free entrance into the new faith. The life of a disciple was no life of ease. He was called upon to forsake the world in its literal sense, and to go about preaching or teaching and living on alms. His old age found an asylum in some monastery of his sect. These foundations will be subsequently described. In the meanwhile, it will suffice to explain that they are religious houses, generally endowed by some wealthy votary, in which dwell from four to forty monks, presided over by a superior of the order.

Ramanand's work upon earth was the proclamation of the equality of man before God. The original founder in Southern India had sufficiently declared the unity of the Deity. Indeed, this doctrine had always been grasped by the better spirits in every generation of the Sanskrii-speaking race. But the southern teacher, while making converts from all ranks, had addressed himself chiefly to the pure Aryan castes. He wrote in the language of the Brahmans, and took their ancient scriptures as the subject of his writings. The northern reformer had the courage to trust his cause to the people. The literature of his sect consists of practical treatises on the religion of daily life, and they are written in the dialects familiar to the masses.

The waves of this reformation seem to have reached the remote sands of Puri about the end of the fourteenth century. Kabir, one of the twelve disciples of Ramanand, carried his master's doctrine througout Bengal. A monastery called after his name exists in Puri at the present day. As his master had laboured to gather together all castes of the Hindus in one common faith, so Kabir, seeing that the Hindus were in his time no longer the whole inhabitants of India, tried to build up a religion that would embrace Hindu and Muhammadan alike. The voluminous writings of his sect contain the amplest acknowledgement that the God of the Hindu is also the God of the Musalman. His universal name is THE INNER, whether he may be invoked as the Ali of the Muhammadans, or as the Rama of the Hindus. 'To Ali and Rama we owe our life, and should show like tenderness to all who live. What avails it to wash your mouth, to count your beads, to bathe in holy streams, to bow in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers or journey on pilgrimage, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day; the Musalman on the Ramazan. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose dwelling is the universe? The city of the Hindu God is to the east, the city of the Musalman God is to the west; but explore your own heart, for there is the God both of the Musalmans and of the Hindus. Behold but One in all things. He to

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whom the world belongs, He is the father of the worshippers alike of Ali and of Rama. He is my guide, He is my priest.'[43]

The moral code of Kabir is as beautiful as his doctrine. It consists in humanity, in truthfulness, in retirement, and in obedience to the spiritual guide. In humanity; for 'life is the gift of God,' and 'the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a crime.' In truthfulness; for 'all the ills of the world, and ignorance of God, are attributable to original falsehood.'[44] In retirement; because the passions and perturbations of this earth ruffle the tranquillity of man's soul, and interfere with his contemplation of God. In obedience to the spiritual guide; but the disciple is enjoined first of all to examine well the life and doctrine of him who professes to take charge of souls. 'When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar? When the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well.'[45]

Kabir's teaching marks another great stride in the reformation of Vishnu-worship. His master had asserted the equality of castes, because he confused the deity and the worshipper. He had regarded the devotee as but a manifestation of the divinity, and no lowness of birth could degrade the Godhead. As Vishnu had taken the form of several of the inferior animals, such as the boar and the fish incarnations, so he might be born in a man of any caste.

But Kabir based his catholicity on no ancient fable. 'In the heart, where truth abides, there dwell I.' His respect for humanity was arrived at, therefore not by bringing down God to his worshipper, but by elevating the heart of the worshipper to God. Loving legends surround his life and wanderings. The Musalmans claim him as one of their own people. The low-caste Hindus assert he was a weaver; the upper classes believe him to have been a miraculously born child of the Brahman caste. The virgin widow of a Brahman, we are told, went with her father to visit the holy Ramananda. The sage, without remarking her widow's garments, greeted her with the salutation suited to married women, and wished that a son might be born to her. The words of the holy man, once uttered, could not be recalled. The young widow in due time bore a son, which in an agony of shame she exposed by the wayside, where it was found by a weaver and his wife.

Of Kabir's death it is recorded that both Hindus and Musalmans claimed the body; the former desiring to burn it, and the latter to bury it, according to their respective rites. While they wrangled over the corpse, Kabir suddenly stood in the midst, and commanding them to look under the shroud, vanished. This

[43] Sabda lvi., abridged from H. H. Wilson's *Works*, vol. i. p. 81.
[44] *Idem*, vol. i. p. 94.
[45] One of the 5000 Sakhis, or pithy sayings, of Kabir.

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they did. But under the winding-sheet they found only a heap of beautiful flowers, one half of which they gave to be burned in the holy city of the northern Hindus, while the other half was buried in great pomp by the Moslems, and a tomb erected on the spot.[46] His name lives in the memory of the people, and pilgrims from Upper India beg a spoonful of rice-water from the Kabir monastery at Puri to this day.

The labours of Kabir may be placed between 1380 and 1420 A.D. In 1485 Chaitanya was born. As Kabir was the Vishnuvite reformer of Hindusthan, so Chaitanya was the prophet of Orissa, and for twelve years laboured to extend the worship of Jagannath. Sighs and wonders attended him through life, and during four centuries he has been worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. For thirteen months the holy child lay in the womb. An eclipse ended as he entered the world. On the lonely shores of Puri he was visited by beatific sights and revelations. On one occasion he beheld the host of heaven sporting upon the blue waves, and plunged into the ocean in a religious ecstasy, but was miraculously returned to earth in a fisherman's net. After forty-two years of preaching, he disappeared in A.D. 1527.[47]

Extricating ourselves from the halo of legends which surround and obscure the apostle, we know little of his private life, except that he was the son of a Sylhet Brahman, settled at Nadiya, near Calcutta ; that in his youth he married the daughter of a celebrated saint ; that at twenty-four he forsook the world, and renouncing the state of a householder, repaired to Orissa, and devoted the rest of his life to the propagation of his faith. But with regard to his doctrines we have the most ample evidence. No caste and no race was beyond the pale of salvation. The Mahammadans shared his labours, and profited by his preaching as well as the Hindus. He held that all men are alike capable of faith, and that all castes by faith become equally pure. Implicit belief and incessant devotion were his watchwords. Contmeplation rather than ritual was his pathway to salvation. Obedience to the religious guide is the great characteristic of his sect ; but he warned his disciples to respect their teachers as second fathers, and not as gods. The great end of his system, as of all Indian forms of worship, is the liberation of the soul. He held that such liberation does not merely mean the annihilation of separate existence. It consists in nothing more than an entire freedom from the stains and the frailties of the body. The liberated soul dwells for ever, either in a blessed region of perfect beauty and sinlessness, or it soars into the heaven of Vishnu himself, high above the myths and mirages of this world, where

[46] Bijli Khan built the tomb of Kabir at Magahar in 1548 A.D.

[47] For about two decades before his death Sri Chaitanya was constantly staying at Puri. He passed away in 1533.

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God appears no more in His mortal incarnations, or in any other forms, but is known in His supreme essence.

It is impossible to listen to an account of the Chaitanya system without being reminded of that transcendental Quietism in which the more beautiful spirits of France, deeply penetrated by the Reformation, but still clinging to the exquisite ancient faith, sought comfort. As Madame Guyon likened the soul's journey to a river, and analyzed its progress with almost morbid precision, so Chaitanya formulated the states through which the human spirit must pass towards a perfect communion with God. The first religious stage is indefference to the world,[48] such as was felt by the holy sages of yore; the second is active service to God;[49] the third is a personal friendship for the Deity;[50] the fourth is a tender affection for Him, as the attachment between parent and child;[51] the fifth is a passionate love, such as the forest nymphs felt for their divine lover.[52]

The truth is that all the more devotional races of mankind have evolved some form or other of Quietism. The Persian Sufis have their four degrees of spiritual perfection.[53] In the first, the disciple struggles to withdraw his mind from this world by religious observances; in the second, he ascends from outward forms and ceremonies to the inner worship of the heart; the third is one of perfect sanctity; the fourth an absolute union in thought and spirit with God. The Muhammadan Sufis and Hindu Vishnuvites, more distinctly than Madame Guyon, make the soul's journey to end in transcendental beatitude and sinlessness even upon earth. Faith,[54] not works, is the road to salvation; and a passionate longing after God, at times rising to heights of unearthly ecstasy, at others swooning away into dreamy religious voluptuousness, is the frame of mind after which all should seek. Hand in hand with faith goes love. In the earlier stages of spiritual life, such love as a servant may have for his master, or a friend for a friend, will suffice; but it should gradually ascend into that higher affection which a father has for his children, ending at last in the perfect love of husband and wife.

The followers of Chaitanya belong to every caste, but they acknowledge the rule of the descendants of the six original disciples.[55] The sect is open alike to the married and the unmarried.

[48] Santi. [49] Dasya.
[50] Sakhya. [51] Vatsalya.
[52] Madhurya. H. H. Wilson, *Works*, i. 164, from which volume the materials for the foregoing account of the Indian reformers are chiefly derived.
[53] Introduction to the *Chaitanya-Chandrodaya*, edited by Rajendra Lala Mitra. 1854.
[54] Bhakti.
[55] The Gosains.

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It has its celibates and wandering mendicants, but its religious teachers are generally married men. They live with their families and dependants in little clusters of houses around a temple to Vishnu,[56] and in this way the adoration of Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa. In Puri there is a temple specially dedicated to his name, and many little shrines are scattered over the country. But he is generally adored in connection with Vishnu; and of such joint temples there are at present 300 in the town of Puri, and 500 in the district. The worship of Chaitanya extends throughout all Orissa; and I have a long list of landed families who worship him with a daily ritual in household chapels dedicated to his name.

At this moment Chaitanya is the apostle of the common people in Orissa. The Brahmans, unless they happen to enjoy grants of land in his name, ignore his work. In almost every Brahman village the communal shrine is dedicated to Siva; but in the villages of the ordinary husbandmen it is Vishnu who is worshipped, and Chaitanya who is remembered as the great teacher of the popular faith.

The death of this reformer marks the beginning of the spiritual decline of Vishnu-worship. Chaitanya had scaled heights denied to ordinary men. The only point in which any real improvement has since taken place, is with regard to the position of women in the religious commonwealth. After the death of Chaitanya a sect arose among his followers, who asserted the spiritual independence of women.[57] In their monastic enclosures male and female cenobites live in celibacy; the women shaving their heads, with the exception of a single slender lock.[58] The two sexes chant the praises of Vishnu and Chaitanya together, in hymn and solemn dance. But the really important docrine of the sect is their recognition of the value of women as instructors of the outside female community. For long they were the only teachers admitted into the zananas of good families in Bengal. Sixty years ago they had already effected a change for the better in the state of female education, and the value of such instruction was assigned as the cause of the sect having so rapidly spread in Calcutta. Since that time Vishnuvite female ascetics[59] of various sorts have entered the same field. In some instances the bad have crept in along with the good, and an effort recently made to utilize them as an engine of public instruction failed.

A few years ago a female normal school was founded, in the hopes of turning out a supply of highly trained teachers,

[56] In his form of Krishna. Hunter generally uses the word Vishnu in its generic sense, as applied to all the incarnations of the god, to save the introduction of unfamiliar Indian names in the text.

[57] The Spashtha Dayakas.

[58] H. H. Wilson's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 170.

[59] Vairaginis.

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who would gain admission into the zananas. Female ascetics of the Vishnuvite orders were invited to enter the institution ; but, after a patient trial, it was ascertained that their moral character had ceased to command the respect which it formerly received. At the end of 1868 ten remained in the school ; but during the past year nine of them were removed, upon careful inquiry into their private life, and the tenth voluntarily withdrew herself.[60]

The most deplorable corruption of Vishnu worship at the present day, is that which has covered the temple walls with indecent sculptures, and filled their innermost sanctuaries with licentious rites.[61] It is very difficult for a person not a Hindu to pronounce upon the real extent of this evil. None but a Hindu can enter any of the larger temples, and none but a Hindu priest really knows the truth about their inner mysteries. But between Vishnuvism and Love-worship there is but a step, and this step has been formally and publicity taken by a large sect of Vishnuvites.

As early as 1520 a teacher[62] arose in Northern India, preaching that the liberation of the soul depended not upon the mortification of the body, and that God was to be sought, not in nakedness and hunger and solitude, but amid the enjoyments of this life. The special object of his adoration was Vishnu in his pastoral incarnation, in which he took the form of the divine youth Krishna, and led a glorious Arcadian life in the forest. The legends surround him with all that makes existence beautiful. Shady bowers, lovely woman, exquisite viands, and everything that appeals to the luscious sensuousness of a tropical race, are mingled in his worship. His daily ritual consists of eight services, in which his image is delicately bathed, anointed with essences, splendidly attired, and sumptuously fed. His great annual ceremony in Bengal and Orissa is the CAR FESTIVAL of Jagannath, hereafter to be described. It is a religion of luxury and systematic indulgence. The followers of the first Vishnuvite reformers dwelt together in secluded monasteries, or went about scantily clothed, living upon alms. But this sect performs its devotions arrayed in costly apparel, anointed with oil, and perfumed with camphor or sandal. It seeks its converts, not among weavers, or leather-dressers, or barbers, but among wealthy bankers and merchants,

[60] The official details with regard to this interesting and once promising institution at Dacca may be found in Appendix A of the General Report of the Director of Public Instruction, L. P., for 1863-4, pp. 83-90 ; 1864-5, pp. 155-158 ; 1865-6, p. 172 ; 1866-7, pp. 132-3 ; 1867-8, p. 101 ; and 1868-9 ; and especially in letter No. 2988, from Inspector of Schools, South-East Division, to Director of Public Instruction, dated 4th December 1869. P. I. R.

[61] The so-called 'indecent sculptures' on Hindu temples are not the product of Vaishnu worship but of Tantric rites.

[62] Vallabha-Swami—His date is subject to dispute.

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who look upon life as a thing to be enjoyed, and upon pilgrimage as a means of extending their trading enterprises.

In a religion of this sort great abuses are inevitable. It was a revolt against a system which taught that the soul could approach its Maker only by the mortification of the body. It declared that God was present in the cities and marts of men, not less than in the cave of the ascetic. Faith and love were its instruments of salvation, and voluptuous contemplation its approved spiritual state. It delighted to clothe the Deity in a beautiful human form, and mystical amorous poems make a large part of its canonical literature. One of its most valued theological treatises is entitled the OCEAN OF LOVE; and although its nobler professors have always recognised its spiritual character, to the common order of minds it has become simply a religion of pleasure. The loves of Radha and Krishna, that exquisite woodland pastoral, redolent of as ethereal a beauty as the wild-flower aroma which breathes in the legend of Psyche and Cupid, has been materialized into a sanction for licentious rites.

Siva-worship, on the contrary, is a religion of stern realities. Whatever it does, it does with a rigid seriousness that is altogether a stranger to the luxurious sensuousness of the worship of Krishna. Its shrines are seldom disgraced by the obscenities which stand out in imperishable stone from the walls of Vishnu temples. Indeed, throughout Orissa I have found the absence or presence of prurient sculptures almost as good a criterion of the sect to which a temple belongs, as the mystic wheel of Vishnu, or the trident of Siva which surmounts its tower. It is only fair, however, to state that both the educated Brahmans and the uneducated masses deplore these indecencies, or spiritualize them into solemn mysteries. So far as I can learn, they little affect the minds of the worshippers. In a great crowd, such as constantly streams in and out of Jagannath, thieves and pickpockets naturally ply their trade. But whatever may be the private character of the priests, the only case of great impropriety absolutely known to have taken place within the walls, was immediately visited by the ecclesiastical exclusion of the parties for the rest of their lives. I have watched the pilgrims in the city, and in a hundred villages along the great high road that leads to it. I have never seen better behaved assemblages of men and women; and the civil surgeon of Puri, whose duties bring him into constant intercourse with the pilgrims, reports to me that there are certainly not more improprieties among them than there would be in European gatherings on an equally large scale.

It is this composite worship of deep spirituality and sanctioned self-indulgence which for six centuries has been gathering round the present temple of Jagannath. In the story of most of the leading Vishnuvite saints, Jagannath plays some part. The

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greatest of all of them devoted his life to the spread of his worship; and an Orissa tradition still relates how in 1513, the king,[63] after a public disputation, acknowledged himself subdued by Chaitanya, and became his humble disciple. Even in the lives of northern saints, Jagannath from time to time appears upon the scene. The Birbhum poet Jayadeva,[64] whose Herdsman's Songs[65] is now the devotional work of a great sect of his countrymen, abandoned his ascetic life on account of a Brahman girl who had been dedicated to Jagannath. The god himself assisted the poet in his writings; and when the sacred volume was finished, he publicly claimed it as the work of his favoured servant. For the king of Orissa, having heard of the fame of the poem, composed another and called it by the same name.[66] The obsequious priests received it with rapturous adulation and placed it in the temple along with the original work. But the lord Jagannath stepped down from his throne, and taking up both poems, hurled the Rajas out of the temple, and tenderly placed Jayadeva's in his bosom.

It was not only of poets and Brahmans, however, that Jagannath was now the patron. Vishnuvism had become the faith of from one-fifth to one-third of the whole people of Bengal. Of one of the saints, a poor butcher by caste, it is recorded that while on pilgrimage, being tempted to adultery by a Brahman's wife, and accused by her when he would not comply, his hands were cut off. But the lord Jagannath judged between the innocent and the guilty, and restored the mutilated limbs to his servant. At this moment the Vishnuvite sects love to claim Puri, on however slender grounds, as the birthplace of their founders, or to introduce it as the scene of their labours on earth. I have already mentioned the monastery of Kabir, and hard by his establishment is a religious house of another northern sect, to which all devout pilgrims from Upper India repair. At the one they beg a piece of bread, and at the other a spoonful of rice-water, in remembrance of their respective founders.[67]

In Orissa, among the common people, Jagannath reigns supreme. Different fiscal divisions claim, as a precious hereditary right, the privilege of rendering service to the god. The jungly highlands on the west of the Chilka supply the timber for the CAR FESTIVAL. The lowlands on the north of the lake annually

[63] Gajapati Pratap Rudra Dev. (1497-1542 A.D.). This tradition owes its origin to the writings of the Vaishnavas of the Gaudiya School.

[64] Jayadeva's land of birth has not yet been satisfactorily fixed.

[65] Gita-Govinda.

[66] *Abinava Gita-Govinda*, ascribed to the authorship of the Gajapati King Purushottama Deva (1467-1497 A.D.). The real author of this work was poet Divakara, who was patronised by king Purushottama Deva and his son Pratap Rudra Deva. (see *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Society*, vol. ii no. 1 p. 19 ff).

[67] The *Maluk Das ka Tukra* and *Kabir ka Torani.*

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send thousands of peasants to drag the sacred vehicle. The inhabitants delight to explain the etymology of their towns and villages, by referring their names to some incident in the history of the image.[68] The royal line has for centuries performed menial offices before the image; and as the sweeper caste is the lowest in the Hindu commonwealth, so the kings of Orissa have reached the climax of religious humility, in their most cherished title of HEREDITARY SWEEPER to Jagannath.

The devotion of centuries has long ago made Jagannath a very wealthy god. The Muhammadans spared so opulent a deity for the revenue that he could be made to yield. All other idols in Orissa they smashed in pieces; and the common saying at this day is, that the noses and ears of the Hindu gods dropped off at the sound of the Muhammadan kettle-drum. But Jagannath was too lucrative a property to be roughly handled, and an Indian historian informs us that they raised the enormous sum of £100,000[69] per annum by licensing his worship. If this statement be correct, the Musalmans must have taxed the priests as well as the pilgrims, as I find that the net sum realized by the British Government, on its taking charge of the country, averaged only £6,619 a year.[70] The Marhattas succeeded the Musalmans, and being Hindus, encouraged the worship, and richly endowed the god. In 1755 they sanctioned a regular payment for the support of the temple, estimated, when we took possession of the country, as equal to a landed estate with a rent-roll of £1,700 per annum.[71] During the last twenty-four months of their rule, their total money contributions amounted to £5,000.[72] As we shall afterwards see, the pilgrims were made to pay dearly for the State liberality to their god.

This, however, represents but a small portion of the wealth of Jagannath. The monasteries connected with the temple enjoy a revenue estimated by a Hindu in 1848 at £20,000 per annum. We have a list of the twenty-nine largest grants, which alone yielded £14,540 a year. The present rental of the monasteries connected with Jagannath amounts, so far as I have been able to ascertain, to £27,000 per annum; and at the moderate computation of fifteen years' purchase, represents landed property to nearly half a million sterling.

[68] *e.d.* Manikpatna, the ruby of Jagannath.

[69] Nine lacs of Sicca rupees.

[70] This represents the net receipts after all deductions for charges, carefully made up from the manuscript accounts for a period of twenty-one years, ending in 1831. The average gross collections were £12,574. —O. R.

[71] The Satais Hazari Mahal, literally the Twenty-seven thousand Rupees, but returned as yielding only Rs. 17,420 in the Government papers. Brij Kishore Ghose, pp. 9, 20, etc.

[72] Letter No. 1943, from Commissioner to Board of Revenue, 26th Aug. 1843.

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But, as I have already stated, every family of any importance in Orissa has dedicated a large part of its estates to the gods. It is not Jagannath alone who has profited. The most moderate calculation that I have seen values the abbey lands of Orissa at £50,000 a year. This is the official return by a committee consisting entirely of Indian gentlemen appointed to report on the religious endowments of that province.

In every country, monastic licentiousness has followed hard upon monastic wealth. Orissa has been no exception to the rule; and since the day we took charge of the country, a cry has gone up against priestly luxury and vice. The enlightened part of the community has now arrayed itself against the systematic abuse of reigious endowments exhibited in amost every monastery. It is not the poor or the discontented who are loudest in their complaints, but men of education, position and of a sufficient degree of orthodoxy to represent public opinion among the respectable Hindus. The local governments of Orissa had more than once to interfere, and to resume endowments which were so grossly abused. In 1810, six years after British accession, misappropriation had reached such a height as to require a legislative remedy.[73] Endowments for pious uses were placed under the supervision of the Board of Revenue, which was made responsible for seeing that the funds were applied to their proper purposes. This supervision by a distant body in Calcutta, consisting of Christians and foreigners, was necessarily of an unsatisfactory nature; and in 1863 the old regulation was repealed. The new law provided that religious endowments should be administered either by local committees of management or by trustees, and endeavoured to guard against misappropriation by directing that any person interested might sue the committee or trustees who abused their position. But no 'person interested' has ever come forward thus to protect the patrimony of the poor. Not a single suit has been filed, and practically the committees and trustees have done just as they pleased.

Meanwhile the public indignation has grown louder every year. In 1860 a pamphlet was put forth by a Hindu gentleman who had visited all the larger monasteries of Orissa, and who was himself a landholder in that province. He says: 'Licentiousness, inhospitality, and petty robbery are the daily vices that have crept into them. When the abbots go out of their monasteries, they pass with a retinue composed of elephants, horses, and sometimes camels. Tom-tom players and performers on the horn go actively along with them. They never think of doing their duty. The monasteries hold half the lands occupied by the landholders, but they are of very little use to the public.' 'They have given up their ancient hospitality. Pilgrims and sick men never

[73] Regulation xix. of 1810. Repealed by Act xx. of 1863.

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approach them, for fear of being rudely expelled from their portals. The abbots have yielded to degrading carnal pleasures, and their disciples emulate their vices.'[74]

The reforming party among the Hindus would give but a short shrift to such abuses. The pamphlet above quoted recommends that the religious endowments of Orissa should be classified according to the purposes for which they were intended, and that these purposes should be enforced by a domiciliary supervision of the police. With regard to a little monastery on his own estate, the author adopted an even more vigorous procedure. 'I have a small village,' he says, 'in the country of Cuttack, of which I am the proprietor. In that village is a religious house, to which was granted, by my predecessors, a holding of rent-free land. The head of the institution gave up entirely entertaining such men as chanced to seek shelter on a rainy night. This came to my notice; and I administered a severe threat to the head of the house, warning him that his lands would be cruelly resumed if in future complaints of inhospitality were brought to my knowledge.'

In 1868 a committee was officially appointed to report upon the religious endowments of Orissa. It consisted entirely of natives of the province, eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of the facts they had to collect; and who, by a residence in Puri itself, had studied the working of the system at its centre, before starting out to investigate its intricate ramifications. They found that the endowments consisted of three classes. In the first class, the deeds granted the lands solely for charitable purposes. In the second, the charters devote certain lands to provide food for the local idol. The third class of endowments is for both purposes, and directs the income to be distributed partly in charity, and partly to be spent in the purchase of the god's food. Practically, however, all monasteries in Orissa of the first class have also grants of the second sort; that is to say, foundations for charitable uses have invariably acquired lands for the worship of the gods as well. 'There is little room to doubt,' say the committee, 'that the endowments in general were made for the benefit of the poor and helpless.' For the most part, they lie along the great road to Jagannath, or in the town of Puri, and seem to have been specially intended for the poorer pilgrims who visit the shrine.

'The religious houses, as originally established,' continue these native gentlemen, 'might be compared with Christian monasteries, as far as the characters of the managers and the associates, and, in fact, of all the inmates, went. The abbot led a life of celibacy, bore the highest character for piety, and was wholly devoted to the service of God and man. He lived in the

[74] *Discourse on the Maths of Orissa*, by Kedar-Nath Datt, abridged, pp. 1, 5, 6. Calcutta, 1860.

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simplest style, denying himself even the common comforts of life. This is not the picture of an imaginary abbot. There exist, even in this day, instances of such management, though from their rarity they can only be taken as exceptions.

'Very different is the state of things at present. The high style in which they live, their expensive equipages, and large and costly retinue, not to say anything of the pleasures and luxuries in which they indulge, to the neglect of their proper duties, tend as we think, to show that they are not as they ought to be. Besides these, there are the facts of direct and indirect alienations of trust property, and the large expenses of unnecessary lawsuits. We believe that there is enough in what we have shown, to produce moral conviction as to the existence of abuses too great in extent, and too flagrant in character, to be suffered any longer to remain unremedied. Such is our conviction; and we need hardly state, after the representations already laid before Government, what the public feeling on the subject is,—a feeling which is one of honest indignation at what is considered a gross abuse of trust and a public wrong.'[75]

The truth is, that the monastic institutions of Orissa answer the objects for which they were founded no better in the nineteenth century, than the monastic institutions of England answered their purposes in the sixteenh. But whatever may be done in Orissa, there will be no spoliation of religious endowments. The English Government of India has ever disdained to enrich itself by the confiscation of charitable lands. The proposals for their reform have come entirely from the Indians themselves. Of such proposals, some tend to a general revision of the grants, and their appropriation to really charitable uses, such as medical dispensaries, hospitals, and schools for the poor. The more moderate party confines its suggestions to the establishment of a central committee of management in Orissa, with powers of visitation and control over the local boards.[76] They desire that this committee should represent the enlightened and public-spirited part of the community. They expressly declare against the members being paid, 'being persuaded that none worth having on such committees would think of accepting any remuneration for trouble taken in the cause of religion.'[77]

The amount at stake is large enough to make a Government and a people ponder well before they commit themselves. Fifty thousand pounds, the annual rental of the religious lands in

[75] Report of Committee, dated 25th March 1869, paras. 21 and 22, abridged. That the monasteries of India were once very different from what they are now, is clear from H. H. Wilson's testimony. He describes the abbots in 1828 as 'men of talents and respectability.' *Works*, i. 53, ed. 1862.

[76] Report of Committee, dated 25th March 1869, para 30. B. S.

[77] *Idem*, para 32.

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Orissa, represent at least an income of a quarter of a million a year in England. Estimating the value of the land at fifteen years' purchase, a great property worth three-quarters of a million sterling is at stake. Allowing for the different purchasing power of money in Europe and in the rural parts of India, this sum may be set down as of equal magnitude in Orissa to £4,000,000 sterling at home.

The English Government respected the patrimony of Jagannath not less scrupulously than it conserved the general religious endowments of Orissa. We simply took over charge of the country from the Marhatta intruders, and the Company bound itself to uphold all rights and privileges as it found them. Jagannath soon made his claims heard. Not satisfied with being maintained in all their grants, the priests pestered the British officers with demands for special allowances. A few months after our accession, while the whole landholders of Orissa were in a tremor as to how the new Government would deal with their rights, the Brahmans calmly insisted upon 'a variety of articles as presents, in order to avert the famine and mortality which are dreaded from an adjutant bird having alighted upon the spire of the goddess Bimala, and of her shawl having been wet by her perspiration.'[78]

Practically, the British decided that all disbursements hitherto made for charitable uses should be continued on the scale which the orthodox Marhatta Government had established.[79] Among these costly bequests, the superintendence of the temple of Jagannath was the chief. During the years that preceded their expulsion, they had paid from £3,000 to £5,000 from their treasury, to make good the deficit between the receipts and the charges of the establishment. Lord Wellesley expressly enjoined our troops, when they started to occupy the province in 1803, to respect the temple and the religious prejudices of the Brahmans and pilgrims. At the same time, our officers were to make no arrangements that would hamper Government in any subsequent reform of temple abuses.[80] Our General communicated these orders to the priests of Jagannath when he entered the province; and a deputation of Brahmans accordingly came into the camp, and placed the temple under our protection, without a blow being struck.[81]

The first effect of our occupation was temporarily to suspend the tax on pilgrims, as we found the system under which the

[78] Letter to J. Hunter, Collector of Jagannath, from the Commissioners, dated 19th September 1804. P. R.

[79] Letter from Commissioners to Collector, dated 23rd March 1805. O. R.

[80] Letter No. 1943, from Commissioner to Board of Revenue, dated 26th August 1843.

[81] *Idem.*

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Marhattas had levied it to be grossly oppressive. At all fords and passes the unhappy pilgrims had to pay toll. Every governor along the road levied as much as he could extort ; and one chief fixed the impost in his district as the enormous rate of £1, 9s. for each foot-passenger.[82] With regard to the temple, we simply engaged to take the place of the late Government.[83] The Marhattas, however, had granted no fixed sum, but had annually made up the difference between the receipts and the expenditure of the temple. For the first four years we followed the same plan, and struggled to thread our way through the endless maze of chicanery in which the temple accounts were involved. Practically, there was a deficit of £3,000 a year, which the ruling power had to make good.[84] In 1807 the Government endeavoured to get rid of the minute supervision of idolatrous rites which this system involved.[85] A year later it formally vested the temple superintendence in the representative of the ancient royal line of Orissa, whom the Marhattas had so grievously oppressed.[86] The total allowance was fixed at £6,000.[87] This sum was granted, however, only on the understanding that it would be absolutely spent in the maintenance of the temple.

Meanwhile Government reimbursed itself by a pilgrimtax, similar to that which had been always levied by the native governments, but of a much lighter character. It stationed guards at the two entrances to the town, who classified the pilgrims and levied the rates. The richest sort, known as the Red Pilgrims, paid from 12s. to £1 sterling a head.[88] The commonalty paid 4s. ; but all religious devotees, carriers of holy water, and *bona fide* inhabitants of Orissa,[89] went free. By exempting merchants and hucksters of every sort, it took care not to let the tax interfere with trade. All poor pilgrims who should declare their inability to pay the tax in the prescribed form were also exempted ;[90] and practically, only two-thirds of the registered number paid. The registered number itself seldom represented one-half the actual total that crept into he city unperceived.

If the Mahammadan historians are accurate in their returns, the tax thus levied by the Company was barely one-fifteenth of what the people had formerly paid. Nevertheless it formed an important item in revenue from Orissa. During the twenty-one

[82] *Calcutta Review*, vol. x. p. 218.
[83] Letter No. 1943, above cited.
[84] Total expenditure, Sa. Rs. 65,999 ; temple receipts, Sa. Rs. 30,884 ; Government grant, Sa. Rs. 29,355, the balance being disallowed.
[85] Upon Webb's Report, dated 19th November 1807.
[86] Sanad to Raja of Khurdha, dated 1808.
[87] Sa. Rs. 56,342. 9. 8, 'exclusive of broadcloth for decorating the cars.' Letter No. 1943, above cited.
[88] Regulation iv. of 1806, secs. 3 to 6.
[89] *I.e.* residents between the Baitarani and the Ganjam Rivers.
[90] Regulation iv. of 1806, sec. 9.

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years ending 1831 it yielded a balance of £139, 000, or £6,619 per annum, after deducting £5,955 a year from the gross returns for the temple expenses and charges.[91] It was felt, however, that the money thus made was to a certain extent the price of a State sanction to idolatry. Christian missionaries ceased not to protest against the impiety of keeping open, as it were, a great emporium of pagan rites, and making a profit from the customers. In 1840 the Company removed this stain from its administration. It abolished the pilgrim-tax, and made over the entire management of the temple to the Rajas of Khurdha, the representatives of the ancient royal line. At the same time, it maintained the pledges that he Marquis of Wellesley had solemnly given. The priests had placed their temple under our protection on the strength of those pledges. In 1840, therefore, the Government, while utterly withdrawing itself from the management, and refusing thenceforward in any way to recognise the shrine, or to levy a tax from its devotees, declined to interfere with the ancient grants. The money allowance had been from time to time reduced, as several functions of the administration—the police, for example, which had formerly been defrayed by the temple—passed under the regular authorities. But the good faith of the English Government was scrupulously maintained; indeed, so scrupulously as to give offence to many Christian men both in India and in England. The annual allowance was afterwards converted into a grant of land, worth about £4,000 a year. All money payments from the treasury, and all State interference, of whatever sort, have ceased.

It is difficult to form anything like an accurate estimate of the present income of Jagannath. Accepting the computation of the rent-roll of the monasteries connected with the temple at £27,000, and adding £4,000 as the present value of the lands granted by the State, we have a total of £31,000. This sum, however, represents but a fraction of his actual income. The whole length and breadth of India is the patrimony of the priests. The different provinces are allotted to different heads of houses, who claim the right of acting as spiritual guides to the pilgrims from their respective regions. These high ecclesiastics cover the country with their emissaries, who preach the sanctity of pilgrimage, and not a day passes without long trains of footsore travellers arriving at the shrine. At the CAR FESTIVAL, food is cooked in the temple kitchen for 90,000 devotees; at another festival for 70,000; and on the morning of one of their solemn full moons, 40,000 pilgrims wash away their sins in the surf.[92] The number that daily flocks in and out of the holy city never

[91] The total yield was at the rate of £12,574; the annual charges, £5955. Abolished by Act x. of 1840.

[92] Brij Kishore Ghose, pp. 46, 51.

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falls short of 50,000 a year, and sometimes amounts to 300,000. This is the published computation of an Indian gentleman who had spend his life on the spot.

No one comes empty-handed. The richer pilgrims heap gold and silver and jewels at the feet of the god, or spread before him charters and title-deeds, conveying rich lands in distant provinces. Every one, from the richest to the poorest, gives beyond his ability, and many cripple their fortunes for the rest of their lives in a frenzy of liberality. Thousands die on the way back, from not having kept enough to support them on the journey. But even when the unhappy pilgrim has given his last rupee, the priests do not suffer him to depart: some shrine still remains to be visited, some ceremony to be witnessed, or some blessing to be obtained. The devotee, in a fever of apprehension lest any of the objects of his pilgrimage should remain unaccomplished, gives a bond to be paid on his return home. An engagement of this sort is so inviolable, that the priests do not even think it needful to take it upon stamped paper. The poor shorn pilgrim probably never reaches his native country. But the next time a pilgrim-hunter visits the dead man's village, he produces the bond, and it is paid without cavil.

The value of these offerings can never be known. Some have stated it to me as high as £70,000. But I think this is excessive, although it should be remembered that, according to Indian historians, the Muhammadans managed to extract £100,000 from the pilgrims before they entered the city at all. A moderate computation estimated the offerings to the priests at twice the gross sum which the British officers realized as pilgrim-tax; and now that the tax is withdrawn, and the pilgrims enter the city so much the richer, the oblations cannot fall much short of three times the amount. This would yield a yearly sum of £37,000, which, added to the £4,000 derived from the temple lands, and to the revenues of the religious houses, valued at £27,000, make the total income of Jagannath not less than £68,000 per annum.

A religious society, so ancient and so wealthy, naturally gathers around it a vast body of retainers. A quarter of a century ago there were as many as 6,000 male adults, priests, warders of the temple, and pilgrim guides. The number has probably increased since then; and including the monastic establishments, their servants and hired labourers, along with the vast body of pilgrim-hunters who roam through every province of India, it is probable that not less than 20,000 men, women, and children live, directly or indirectly, by the service of lord Jagannath.

The immediate attendants on the god are divided into thirty-six orders and ninety-seven classes. At the head is the Raja of Khurdha, the representative of the ancient royal house of Orissa, who takes upon himself the lowly office of sweeper to

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Jagannath. Decorators of the idols, strewers of flowers, priests of the wardrobe, bakers, cooks, guards, musicians, dancing-girls, torch-bearers, grooms, elephant-keepers, and artisans of every sort, follow. There are distinct sets of servants to put the god to bed, to dress him, and to bathe him. A special department keeps up the temple records, and affords a calm literary asylum to a few learned men. The baser features of a worship which brings God down to men, and aims at a sensuous realization of the Eternal, by endowing Him with human passions and a human form, appear in a band of prostitutes who sing before the image.

The sacred enclosure is nearly in the form of a square, protected from profane eyes by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, by 652 feet long and 630 broad. Within it rise about 120 temples, dedicated to the various forms in which the Hindu mind has imagined its god. In the list I count no fewer than thirteen temples to Siva, besides several to his queen, the great rivals of Vishnu. The nature-worship of primitive times is represented, even in this most complex development of modern superstition, by a temple to the sun. But the great temple is the one dedicated to Jagannath. Its conical tower rises like an elaborately carved sugar-loaf, 192 feet high, black with time, and surmounted by the mystic wheel and flag of Vishnu. Outside the principal entrance, or LION GATE, in the square where the pilgrims chiefly throng, is an exquisite monolthic pillar which stood for centuries before the Temple of the Sun twenty miles up the coast.[93]

The temple of Jagannath consists, like all the larger shrines in Orissa, of four chambers opening one into the other. The first is the HALL OF OFFERINGS, where the bulkier oblations are made, only a small quantity of choice food being admitted into the inner shrine. The second is the PILLARED HALL, for the musicians and dancing-girls. The third is the HALL OF AUDIENCE, in which the pilgrims assemble to gaze upon the god. The fourth is the Sanctuary itself, surmounted by the lofty conical tower.[94] There sits Jagannath, with his brother Balabhadra and his sister Subhadra, in jewelled state.[95] The images are rude logs, coarsely

[93] This monolithic pillar is known as Aruna Sthambha. It was brought from Konarka to Puri in the last quarter of the 18th century, by the order of Brahmachari Gosain the religious head of the Marhattas in Orissa.

[94] These halls, beginning as above with the outermost are called respectively, (1) Bhoga Mandapa. (2) Nata Mandira, (3) Jagamohana, (4) Bada Deula, the holy cell itself.

Hunter is indebted to Rajendra Lala Mitra for the dimensions of various parts of the temple given in this page. Those given by Stirling and by Brij Kishore Ghose are slightly inaccurate.

[95] Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarsana sit on the Ratnavedi (the jewelled dais) which was brought from Vijayanagar by Gajapati Purushottama Dev as one of the trophies of his victory, and R. D. Banerjee observes on it "the bizarre arabesque of the decadent Hoysala type." (*Hist. of Orissa,* vol. i, p. 316).

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fashioned into the form of the human bust from the waist up. On certain festivals the priests fasten golden hands to the short stumps which project from the shoulders of Jagannath. The want of arms has been already accounted for in the legend of Basu the fowler, but the priests give a more spiritual explanation. The LORD OF THE WORLD, they say, needs neither hands nor feet to work his purposes among men.

The service of the temple consists party in a daily round of oblations, and partly in sumptuous ceremonials at stated periods throughout the year. The offerings are simple enough: fruits and flowers, and the various articles of food in use among a primitive people. Rice, pulse, clarified butter, milk, salt, vegetables, ginger, and cocoa-nuts, are offered to the images and eaten by the priests. A list of the items, made up by a Hindu gentleman, gives their aggregate cost at £4, 8s. 4d. a day and the table of the idols is entered in the temple accounts at £1,572 a year.[96]

Four times every day the priests clear the sanctuary, and close the tower gates while the god is at his meals. At the door stand Vishnuvite ascetics, waving large fans and singing his praises. In the PILLARED HALL a choir of dancing-girls enliven the idols' repast by their airy gyrations, while a few favoured servants attend him in his inner shrine.

The offerings are bloodless. No animal yields up his life in the service of Jagannath. The spilling of blood pollutes the whole edifice, and a set of servants are maintained to hurry away the sacrificial food that has thus been contaminated. Yet so deeply rooted is the principle of compromise in this great national temple, that the sacred enclosure also contains a shrine to Bimala, the 'stainless' queen of the All-Destroyer, who is every year adored with midnight rites and bloody sacrifices.

Twenty-four high festivals enliven the religious year. They consist chiefly of the Vishnuvite celebrations, but freely admit the ceremonials of the rival sects. A vein of the old aboriginal rites runs through them all. At the RED POWDER FESTIVAL *holi*, a picturesque boat procession of the gods about Easter on the sacred lake, devotees to the number of 40,000 indulge in *bhang* and other intoxicating drugs.[97] Vishnu and Siva enjoy equal

[96] Brij Kishore Ghose, pp. 26 and 28. For the details of the temple account in the past and the present, as well as, for the annual and the daily services of the temple vide *The Orissa Gazette* (Extraordinary issue) No. 101, May 7, 1855.

[97] The Chandan Jatra lasts for 42 days from the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of Vaisakh to the 14th day of the bright fortnight of Jyeshtha. It is divided into two periods of 21 days each. The first period is known as 'Bahara Chandana' or 'outer Chandan,' as during this period the images of Rama, Krishna, Madanamohana, Lakshmi and Saraswati are taken outside in procession to the Narendra tank where they play in the boat and enjoy various modes of worship. On the 20th

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honours in the ceremony. The wild age is yearly commemorated in the abduction[98] of the fair nymph by the enamoured god, a primitive form of marriage *per raptionem,* acknowledged by ancient Hindu law. The Aryan advance through India is celebrated on Rama's birthday,[99] on which the god appears in the dress and arms of the Sanskrit hero who marched to the southern jungles of the peninsula, and slew the cannibal king of Ceylon. At the BATHING FESTIVAL,[100] when the images are brought down in great pomp to one of the artificial lakes, a proboscis is fastened to their noses so as to give them the look of the elephant god of the aboriginal tribes, Ganesha. The supremacy of Vishnu is declared, however, in the festival of the slaughter of the deadly Cobra-da-Capello[101] the familiar of Siva and his queen. The indecent rites that have crept into Vishnuvism, and which, according to the spirit of the worshipper, are either high religious mysteries or simple obscenities, are represented by the Birth Festival,[102] in which a priest takes the part of the father, and a dancing-girl that of the mother, of Jagannath, and the ceremony of his nativity is performed to the life.

But the CAR FESTIVAL is the great event of the year. It takes place, according as the Hindu months fall, in June or July, and probably owes its origin to a period long anterior to the temple itself. We have seen how Vishnuvism at Puri is but the successor of the older Buddhistic creed. The Chinese traveller Fa Hian gives a curious account of the yearly procession of the SACRED TOOTH from its regular chapel to a shrine some way off, and of

day the deities make as many as twenty one rounds by boat in this tank, and the next day the Jatra ends with only a formal round of boat trip in the day time along with a festive play of coloured water.

The second period, of 21 days is known as the 'Bhitara Chandana' or 'Inner Chandan' as during this period the festival takes place inside the temple and the deities play in the water on four occasions viz. on the 11th day of the dark fortnight, on the new moon day, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight and on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyeshtha, when a consecrated cistern in the temple represents the Narendra tank.

[98] Rukmini-harana-Ekadasi (11th day of the bright fortnight of Jyeshtha) is one of the ceremonies during the 'Bhitara Chandana' festival.

[99] Ramanavami or the birthday of Rama is celebrated in the temple on the 9th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, when two of the temple servitors play the role of Dasaratha and Kausalya, the father and mother of Rama for performing the ceremony of his nativity.

[100] Snana jatra, observed on the full moon day of Jyeshtha.

[101] Kaliya-dalana day observed on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of Bhadrava. This cobra has no connection with Siva. It probably represents the cult of Naga worship that was superseded by the Krishna Cult.

[102] Janmashtami or the birthday of Krishna, is celebrated in the temple on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Bhadrava, when two of the temple servitors play the roles of Basudeva and Devaki, the father and mother of Krishna for performing the ceremony of his nativity.

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its return after a stay there.[103] This was in the fifth century A.D.; but the account applies so exactly to the CAR FESTIVAL at the present day, that one of the most accurate of Indian observers pronounces the latter to be 'merely a copy.'[104] Certain it is, that in its greatest ceremonials, as in its leading doctrines, the worship of Jagannath bears the impress of the ancient Buddhistic faith.

For weeks before the CAR FESTIVAL, pilgrims come trooping into Puri by thousands every day. The whole district is in a ferment. By the time the great car has risen to the orthodox height of forty-five feet,[105] the temple cooks make their calculations for feeding 90,000 mouths. The vast edifice is supported on sixteen wheels of seven feet diameter, and is thirty-five feet square. The brother and sister of Jagannath have separate cars a few feet smaller.[106] When the sacred images are at length brought forth and placed upon their chariots, thousands fall on their knees and bow their foreheads in the dust. The vast multitude shouts with one throat, and surging backward and forward, drags the wheeled edifices down the broad street towards the country-house of lord Jagannath. Music strikes up before and behind, drums beat, cymbals clash, the priests harangue from the cars, or shout a sort of fescinine medley enlivened with broad allusion and coarse gestures, which are received with roars of laughter by the crowd. And so the dense mass struggles forward by convulsive jerks, tugging and sweating, shouting and jumping, singing and praying, and swearing. The distance from the temple to the country-house is less than a mile; but the wheels sink deep into the sand, and the journey takes several days. After hours of severe toil and wild excitement in the July tropical sun, a reaction necessarily follows. The zeal of the pilgrims flags before the garden-house is reached; and the cars, deserted by the devotees, are dragged along by the professional pullers with deep-drawn grunts and groans. These men, 4200 in number, are peasants from the neighbouring fiscal divisions, who generally manage to live at free quarters in Puri during the festival.

Once arrived at the country-house, the enthusiasm subsides. The pilgrims drop exhausted upon the burning sand of the sacred street, or block up the lanes with their prostrate bodies. When they have slept off their excitement, they rise refreshed and ready for another of the strong religious stimulants of the season. Lord

103 Vide, James Legge; *Fa Hien*, pp. 18-19.

104 James Fergusson: *History of Architecture*, ii, 590.

105 Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 39.

106 The car of Jagannath is called Nandighosha; it is provided with 16 wheels and is 23 cubits in height from its platform. The car of Balabhadra is known as Taladhaja; it has 14 wheels and its height is 22 cubits from the platform. Subhadra's car is named Devadalana; it is 21 cubits high from the platform and has 12 wheels.

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Jagannath is left to get back to his temple as best he can ; and in the quaint words of a writer half a century ago, but for the professional car-pullers, the god 'would infallibly stick' at his country-house.

In a closely packed eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women, many of them unaccustomed to exposure or hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost under the blazing tropical sun, deaths must occasionally occur. There have doubtless been instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement. But such instances have always been rare, and are now unknown. At one time several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were almost invariably cases of accidental trampling. The few suicides that did occur were for the most part cases of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain.[107] The official returns now place this beyond doubt. Indeed, nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishnu-worship than self-immolation. Accidental death within the temple renders the whole place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops, and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god. According to Chaitanya, the apostle of Jagannath, the destruction of the least of God's creatures was a sin against the Creator. Self-immolation he would have regarded with horror. The copious religious literature of his sect frequently describes the CAR FESTIVAL, but makes no mention of self-sacrifice, nor does it contain any passage that could be twisted into a sanction for it.[108] Abul Fazl, the keen Moslem observer, is equally silent, although from the context it is almost certain that, had he heard of the practice, he would have mentioned it.

So far from encouraging self-immolation, the gentle doctrines of Jagannath tended to check the once universal custom of widow-burning. Even before the Government put a stop to it, our officials observed its comparative infrequency at Puri. It is expressly discountenanced in the writings of the Vishnuvite reformers, and is stigmatized by a celebrated disciple as 'the fruitless union of beauty with a corpse.'

It would be well for Jagannath if these old calumnies were the only charges which his priests had to answer. Lascivious sculpture disfigure his walls, indecent ceremonies disgrace his ritual, and dancing girls with rolling eyes put the modest female worshippers to the blush. The priests give a spiritual significance to these most questionable features of modern Vishnuvism, and a

[107] Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. 324. *Calcutta Review*, x. 235. Report of Statistical Commissioner to the Government of Bengal, 1868, part ii. p. 8. Puri Police Reports. Laurie's *Orissa*, 1850.

[108] H. H. Wilson's *Works*, i. 155, footnote.

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devout Hindu no doubt looks on them with different eyes from ours. To the pure, all things are pure. But these are not the sole corruptions of the faith. The temple of Jagannath, that *colluvio religionum* in which every creed obtained an asylum, and in which every class and sect can find its god, now closes its gates against the low-caste population. I have tried in vain to trace the history of this gross violation of the spirit of the reformed Vishnuvite faith. Even at the present moment no hard and fast line exists between the admitted and the excluded castes. I have taken down lists of the latter from several natives of Puri, but each list materially differs from all the others; and I am told that the priests are much less strict to mark the disqualification of castes in pilgrims from a distance than among the non-paying local populace. Speaking generally, only those castes are shut out who retain the flesh-eating and animal-life-destroying propensities and professions of the aboriginal tribes.

A man must be a very pronounced Non-Aryan to be excluded. Certain of the low castes, such as the washermen and potters, may enter half-way, and standing humbly in the court outside the great temple, catch a glimpse of the jewelled god within. But unquestionable Non-Aryans, like the neighbouring hill-tribes or forest races, and the landless servile castes of the lowlands, cannot go in at all. The same ban extends to those engaged in occupations either offensive in themselves, or repugnant to Aryan ideas of purity: thus, wine-sellers, sweepers, skinners, corpse-bearers, hunters, fishers, and bird-killers. Basu the fowler would now be driven from the doors of the temple dedicated to his god. Criminals who have been in jail, and women of bad character, except the privileged temple girls, are also excluded: with this difference, however, that a criminal may expiate the defilement of imprisonment by penance and costly purifications; but a woman once fallen can never more pass the temple gates.[109]

[109] Hunter has made up the following list of excluded castes, partly from the statements of the Brahmans, and partly from those of the low castes themselves: 1. Christians; 2. Muhammadans; 3. Hill or forest races; 4. Bauris; 5. Savars; 6. Pans; 7. Haris (except to clean away filth); 8. Chamars; 9. Doms and Chandals; 10. Chiria-Mars (bird-killers); 11. Sials (wine-sellers); 12. Gokhas (fishermen); 13. Siulas (fishermen); 14. Tiyars (fishermen); 15. Nulias (Telinga boatmen); 16. Patras (low-caste cloth-makers); 17. Kandras (village watchmen); 18. Common prostitutes; 19. Persons who have been in jail, but with right of expiation; 20. Washermen; 21. Potters; but these last two may enter the outer court.

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CHAPTER II

THE PILGRIMS OF JAGANNATH

The name of Jagannath still draws the faithful from a hundred provinces of India to the Puri sands. This yearning after holy places seems, indeed, to form part of the universal religion of mankind. To gaze upon the scenes amid which the Deity has dwelt, to bathe in the rivers that once laved his mystical incarnate frame, to halt at noonday under hoary trees beneath which the divine presence has reposed, to pray upon the mountain hallowed by his lonely communings, and to behold in the everlasting rock the footprints of the god, are longings which have, at one period or another, filled the imagination, and stirred the innermost heart of all noble races. From that ancient night on which the ladder was let down from heaven, and the angels ascended and descended before the sleeper on the pillow of stones at Bethel, till the time when the true cross began to give off its inexhaustible splinters to the Christian world, and thence down to the present hour, a strip of sand and rock has been regarded with passionate tenderness by the august dynasty of religions to which our own belongs. In the wildest period of mediæval history, savage nations forgot their feuds, and rushed hand in hand to the rescue of those distant shrines. In their defence, army after army reddened the Syrian sands with their blood. Even in this unemotional age, a ceaseless stream of pilgrims from Asia, from Europe, from America, from the infidel parts of the Turk, and from the torrid mountains of Abyssinia, still pours into the *Terra Sancta* at the great festival of the Christian year. Its most solemn shrine is parcelled out in jealously guarded inches to the long separated sections of the primitive church. The coldest of the Teutonic creeds cannot contemplate those scenes untouched, while the Southern forms of Christianity adandon themselves to paroxysms of emotion.

This longing after shrines forms a very important feature in the national character of the Hindus. Day and night throughout every month of the year, troops of devotees arrive at Puri, and for 300 miles along the great Orissa road every village has its pilgrim encampment. The parties consist of from 20 to 300 persons. At the time of the great festivals these bands follow so close as to touch each other; and a continuous train of pilgrims, many miles long, may often be seen on the Puri high-road. They march in orderly procession, each party under its spiritual leader. At least five-sixths, and often nine-tenths of them, are females. Now a straggling band of slender, diminutive women, clothed in

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white muslin, and limping sadly along, announces a pilgrim company from Lower Bengal; then a joyous retinue with flowing garments of bright red or blue, trudging stoutly forward, their noses pierced with elaborate rings, their faces freely tatooed, and their hands encumbered with bundles of very dirty cloth, proclaims the stalwart female peasantry of Northern Hindustan. Ninety-five out of a hundred are on foot. Mixed with the throng are devotees of various sorts, some covered with ashes, some almost naked, some with matted, yellow-stained hair, and almost all with their foreheads streaked with red or white, a string of beads round their necks, and a stout staff in their hands. Every now and then, covered waggons drawn by the high-humped bullocks of Upper India, or by the smaller breed of Bengal, according to the nationality of the owner, creak past on their wooden wheels. Those from the Northern Provinces still bear traces of the licentious Musalman rule, by being jealously shut up. The Bengali husband, on the other hand, keeps his women good-tempered, and renders pilgrimage pleasant, by piercing holes in the waggon-hood, through which dark female eyes constantly peep out. Then a lady in coloured trousers, from some village near Delhi, ambles past on a tiny pony, her husband submissively walking by her side, and a female domestic, with a hamper of Ganges water and a bundle of dirty cloth, bringing up the rear. Next a great train of palankeens, carrying a Calcutta banker and his ladies, sweeps past. I met one consisting of forty palankeens, with 320 bearers and about fifty luggage-carriers, whose monotonous chant made itself heard far off in the silent night. But the greatest spectacle is a north country Raja with his caravan of elephants, camels, led horses, and swordsmen, looking resigned and very helpless in his sedan of state, followed by all the indescribable confusion, dirt, and noises of Indian royalty.

The great spiritual army that thus marches its hundreds, and sometimes its thousands of miles, along burning roads, across unbridged rivers, and through pestilent regions of jungle and swamp, is annually recruited with as much tact and regularity as is bestowed on any military force. Attached to the temple is a body of emissaries, called pilgrim-hunters, or pilgrim-guides, according as a friendly or a hostile view is taken of their functions, numbering about 3000 men, who visit every province and district of India in search of devotees. Each of the leading priests keeps up a separate set of these men, sending them to the province of which he enjoys the spiritual charge, and claiming the profits of the disciples they bring in. They wander about from village to village within their allotted beats, preaching pilgrimage as the liberation from sin, and sometimes using arguments as wordly, and drawing pictures as overstrained, as those by which the flagging devotion of Europe was lashed into zeal during the later crusades.

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The arrival of a pilgrim-hunter is a memorable event in the still life of an Indian village. There is no mistaking the man. The half-bald shaven head, the tunic of coarse dirty cloth, the cap drawn over the ears, the palm-leaf unbrella, the knapsack on the back, and the quid of narcotic leaf which he chews and rolls in his cheek as he strides forward, proclaim the emissary of Jagannath. He seldom shines in public exhortation, but waits till the men have gone out to the fields, and then makes a round of visits to the women. Skilled in every artifice of persuasion, he works upon the religious fears and the wordly hopes of the female mind ; and by the time the unsuspecting husbands come home from their work, every house has its fair apostle of pilgrimage. The elder women and some of the aged fathers of the hamlet long to see the face of the merciful god who will remit the sins of a life, and are content to lay their bones within his precincts. Religious motives of a less emphatic sort influence the majority. The hopes of worldly reward for a good deed swell the number. The fashionableness of pilgrimage, and that social self-complacency which springs from being in the mode, attract the frivolous. The young are hooped by the novelty of a journey through strange lands. Poor widows catch at anything to relieve the tedium of their blighted existence ; and barren wives long to pick up the child-giving berries of the banyan tree within the sacred enclosure, and to pour out the petition of their souls before the kindly god.

The shut-up, aimless life of Indian women gives a peculiar charm to the enterprise. The arrival of a pilgrim-hunter sends a general flutter through the whole zananas of the district, and a hundred little female heads beat wildly against the wires of their cages. In parties of thirty pilgrims I seldom counted more than five men, and sometimes not more than three. The best authorities I have consulted give the proportion of males at ten per cent., and one Indian writer puts them at less than five in a hundred.[1] The first part of the journey is pleasant enough. Change of scene, new countries, new races, new languages, and a world of new customs and sights, await the travellers from Upper India. A good part of the distance is now accomplished by railway, and the northern pilgrims can thus get over their first 1000, or even 1400 miles, if they chose to travel straight through, in three days. But generally they walk from 300 to 600 miles, and long before they have reached the holy city their strength is spent. The sturdy women of Hindustan brave it out, and sing songs till they drop ; but the weaker females of Bengal limp piteously along with bleeding feet in silence, broken only by deep sighs and an occasional sob. The pilgrim-hunter tries to keep up their

[1] Letter from Sri B. in the *Som Prakash*, a Bengali weekly, dated 18th May, 1868 (6th Jyaistha, 1278, Bengali era).

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spirits, and insists, with a necessary obduracy, on their doing a full day's journey every day, in order that they may reach in time for the festival. Many a sickly girl dies upon the road ; and by the time they reach Puri, the whole party has its feet bound up in rags, plastered with dirt and blood. I have counted bands in which nine out of every ten were lame.

But, once within sight of the holy city, the pains and miseries of the journey are forgotten. They hurry across the ancient Marhatta bridge with songs and ejaculations, and rushing towards one of the great artificial lakes, plunge beneath its sacred waters in a transport of religious emotion. The dirty bundles of rags now yield their inner treasures of spotless cotton, and the pilgrims, refreshed and robed in clean garments, proceed to the temple. The pilgrim-hunter makes over the flock to his priestly employer, and every hour discloses some new idol or solemn spectacle. As they pass the LION GATE a man of the sweeper caste strikes them with his broom to purify them of their sins, and forces them to promise, on pain of losing all the benefits of pilgrimage, not to disclose the events of the journey or the secrets of the shrine.

In a few days the excitement subsides. At first nothing can exceed their liberality to their spiritual guide. But thoughts of the slender provision remaining for the return journey soon begin to cool their munificence, and the ghostly man's attentions slacken in proportion. Before a week is over money altercations commence, which in process of time resolve themselves into an acrimonious haggling over every shrine, and the last few days of their stay are generally devoted to schemes for getting out of the holy city with as few more payments as possible.

Every day the pilgrims bathe in one of the sacred lakes. These vast artificial sheets of water are embanked with solid masonry, honeycombed by time, and adorned with temples rising from the edge or peeping from beneath masses of rich foliage. At the principal one 5000 bathers may be seen at once. On the masonry banks, which are formed into one continuous flight of steps all the way round, a good mile in length, there is sometimes not an inch of standing room to be had. Here, as in every spot where the common people congregate, the primitive adoration of local divinities and village gods makes its appearance. In this centre of Vishnu-worship, half-way down the grand flight of steps to the lake, stands a venerable banyan tree, the abode of an ancient sylvan deity, whom the pilgrims propitiate by sticking red flowers into the crevices of the weather-beaten trunk.

Not far off is the garden-house of Jagannath, whither the three sacred images are drawn during the CAR FESTIVAL. I have mentioned that the Chinese travellers in the fifth century describe a similar ceremonial of the Buddhists. But I suspect that both the Buddhists and the later worshippers of Jagannath caught the idea from those older woodland rites, of which traces survive

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in every hamlet of Bengal. To this day each district has some secluded spot in the jungle, whither the villagers flock once a year to adore the *genius loci*, in the shape of a log, or a lump of clay, or a black stone, or the trunk of a tree.[2] I believe the CAR FESTIVAL is only a very pompous development of this primitive hankering after forest devotions, skilfully incorporated with the incidents of the legendary life of Krishna, who was himself essentially a woodland god.

The garden-house stands at the end of a long, broad, sandy avenue, somewhat under a mile in length, which runs direct from it to the temple. It is surrounded by a massive wall, about twenty feet high, and castellated at the top like the fortresses of Northern India. The principal gateway looks towards the temple, and is a handsome structure with a fine pointed roof adorned with lions in the most conventional style of Hindu sculpture. Inside one catches glimpses of long straight walks and groves of bright evergreen trees, with an ancient shrine at the end of the vista. A glory of tropical foliage, vocal with birds, overtops the lofty wall with every shade of green, from the slender-stemmed, feathery elegance of the coronetted palm, to the solid masses of the mango, and the hoary majesty of the banyan tree.

Another place visited by all pilgrims is the SWARGA-DWARA, the GATE OF HEAVEN. The devotee threads his way through the deep-sunk narrow alleys of the town, with their thatched huts of wattle or mud gaily painted with red and yellow gods, till he reaches the shore. There, on the south of the city, he comes on a region of sand-hills bordered by temples and tombs behind, and with the surf-beaten beach in front. No distinct boundaries mark the limits of the GATE OF HEAVEN. It runs about a quarter of a mile along the coast, or 'as much as may be occupied by a thousand cows.'[3] In the background the lofty tower of Jagannath rises from the heart of the city; and in the intervening space little monasteries cluster, each in its own hollow between the sandy hills, with a green patch of cultivation at the bottom watered from a deep masonry well. Sometimes an outlying rood or two is reclaimed, with infinite labour, from the sandy slopes, and fenced in by a curious wall made of the red earth pots in which the holy food is served out to the pilgrims. The sacred rice can only be placed in a new vessel, and every evening thousands of the unbroken pots are at the disposal of any one in want of such slender building materials.

Here the pilgrims bathe. At the great festival, as many as 40,000 rush together into the surf; and every evening silent

[2] For an interesting example, see Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, vol. i. (The Ethnical Frontier), p. 131.

[3] Brij Kishore Ghose, p. 51.

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groups may be seen purifying themselves for their devotions under the slanting rays of the sun. It is a spot sanctified by the funeral rites of generations. The low castes who bury their dead, dig a hasty hole in the sand, and the hillocks are covered with bones and skulls, which have been washed bare by the tropical rains, or dug up by the jackals. During the famine of 1866, thousands thus found an indiscriminate sepulchre. But long before that time, the place had been known as a magazine of mortality, in which corruption reigned with all its emblems of sovereignty exposed to view.

The respectable Hindu, with his sensitive shrinking from personal contamination, and from the details of human decay, resolves the frame into its elements by means of incremation. Every evening, the funeral pyres may be seen glancing across the water, while groups sit sadly round in the fitful light. Devotees from every province of India come hither to do the last offices for a brother, or a parent, or a wife. I have talked to many pilgrims in this shrine of death; and so far as one man can judge of the inner life of another, some of them had drawn very near in their hearts to God.

One little group came to bury their mother. They had journeyed with a pilgrim band from the far west, beyond the limits of British India, and had visited the great shrines at Allahabad, Banaras and Gaya upon the way. They had done as much of the distance as they could by railway; but they had walked about 500 miles besides. The journey had taken three months. One-sixth of them had already died; and several had been so disabled as to require to finish their pilgrimage in a bullock cart. But the oldest woman in the party—a brave up-country matron—had never flinched. She had constantly urged them forward, in order, she said, that she might reach the holy city before she died. The same day she arrived, she prevailed upon the priests to conduct her to the temple, where she gazed in silent rapture on the god. Next morning she fell ill. The other pilgrims began to recover their strength, but she gradually declined; and now her sons had come to burn her body on the sands. She had reached the Gate of Heaven at last. They laid down the bier at the edge of the sea, till the ripples wetted the vermillion-sprinkled yellow shroud. A green leaf had been placed in her girdle, and another on her breast. Then, with all her ornaments around her arms and ankles, they laid her on the pile, and in a few minutes the forked flames flashed up into the skies.

Disease and death make havoc of the pilgrims. During their stay in Puri they are badly lodged and miserably fed. The priests impress on them the impropriety of dressing food within the holy city; and the temple kitchen thus secures the monopoly of cooking for the multitude. The eatables served out chiefly

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consist of boiled rice. Peas, pulse, clarified butter, sugar and rice are also made into a variety of confections. The charges seem to be reasonable enough; a mess of rice sufficient for two men costing three half-pence, except during the festivals, when the vast number of customers enables the cooks to raise their prices. Before being offered for sale it is presented to Jagannath in the outer hall, but within sight of the image, and thus becomes holy food. When fresh it is not unwholesome, although the pilgrims complain of the cooking being often very bad. But, unfortunately, only a part of it is eaten fresh, as it is too sacred for the least fragment to be thrown away. Large quantities of it are sold in a state dangerous even to a man in robust health and deadly to the wayworn pilgrims, half of whom reach Puri with some form or other of bowel complaint. 'When examined after twenty-four hours, even in January,' writes one of the leading sanitary authorities in India, 'putrefactive fermentation had begun in all the rice compounds, and after forty-eight hours the whole was a loathsome mass of putrid matter, utterly unfit for human use. This food forms the chief subsistence of the pilgrims, and the sole subsistence of the beggars who flock in hundreds to the shrines during the festival. It is consumed by some one or other, whatever its state of putrefaction, to the very last morsel.'[4]

The only kinds of holy food not reported as utterly putrid at the end of forty-eight hours were the sweetmeats; and as the pilgrims carry these condiments to their distant homes, ample time is allowed for the process of putrefaction to complete itself. Mouat describes them as 'a compound of dead flies, rancid butter, and dirty sugar;' and although I have seen many specimens of a better sort, I perfectly agree with his conclusion, that 'it is difficult to imagine any regimen better calculated to aid the crowding and filth in their evil influence on the human frame.'

But bad food is only one of many predisposing causes to diseases which the pilgrims have to encounter. The low level of Puri, and the sandy ridges which check its natural drainage towards the sea, render it a very dirty city. Each house is built on a little mud platform about four feet high. In the centre of the platform is a drain which receives the filth of the household, and discharges it in the form of black stinking ooze on the street outside. The platform itself becomes gradually soaked with the pestiferous slime. In many houses, indeed, a deep open cesspool is sunk in the earthen platform; and the wretched inmates eat and sleep around this perennial fountain of death. Those whose experience of foul smells is confined to cities in the temperate zone, can form no idea of the suffocating stench which

[4] Report of Mouat, Inspector-General of Jails.

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such cesspools throw off in a tropical temperature between 85° and 105° during seven months of the year. Nor is there any outlet for the deadly gases that bubble up from them day and night. As a rule, the houses consist of two or three cells, leading one into the other, without windows or roof-ventilation of any sort[5]...

[5] Report of D. B. Smith, Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, part i. p. 2, 1868.

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CHAPTER III

ORISSA UNDER INDIAN RULE

Now I propose to deal with the obscure revolutions by which a strip of the Indian coast has passed from an uninhabited jungle into a province. No part of India has attracted less notice from the historian or from the scholar.[1] Its hard fate has been to lie between two fertile presidencies, unclaimed and uncared for by either. The tempests of conquest and the tidal waves of nations that have swept across the rest of India, rarely overtopped the ridges which wall out these shores. Sanskrit literature, with its pre-historic panorama of the upper valley of the Ganges, reaches the last of its slow moving scenes far to the north of Orissa. No curious mosses nor antique forms of life from its coast have found their way into the amber of the Vedic hymns. The great Epic itself, with its bright nucleus in Hindustan, and its broad comet-like tail curving downwards in streams of light to the farthest point of the peninsula, sheds not a momentary flicker over Orissa.[2] In modern times, seen at even a less remote distance than that from which English writers on India have viewed the province, its history seems to be little more than an interminable list of kings and of confused dynastic changes. With these changes, however, I shall but sparingly trouble the reader. But their effect upon the people, and the revolutions they have wrought in human existence and human beliefs; the struggles by which a race, buried in its primitive jungles, has from time to time painfully cast its skin and assumed new forms of life; above all, the stages by which diverse ethnical elements have grown together into the composite rural communities of the present day,—these are the arguments of this book. Ancient history too often appears like one of the mediæval cities of the Low Countries, visible far across the plains, but of which the traveller discerned nothing but the

[1] By the time Hunter wrote this work the Prehistoric sites of Orissa had not been explored. But soon after that during the 70s of the 19th century V. Ball could locate as many as four Palaeolithic sites in Orissa —in Sambalpur, Angul, Dhenkanal, and Talcher. During th first quarter of the 20th century many other Palaeolithic and Neolithic sites were brought to light in Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar region. Orissa at present boasts of her Pre-historic antiquities, and she is regarded as one of the lands of the earliest mankind.

[2] Kalinga is often referred to in the Epics, Puranas. and the early Buddhist literature.

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minster-spire, the prince's schloss, and an occasional flash of steel upon the walls. Yet priests and kings, and soldiers were no more the sole inhabitants of the ancient world than they are of our own. They only happened to wear clothes very easily seen at a distance. If we can get near enough to the town, a great din of obscure industry strikes our ears; and for each stately edifice that towers above the walls there are a thousand swarming habitations, too low to be seen from without, but which make the city within.

The sources of this chapter consist partly of notices in ancient Sanskrit works, party of the itinerary of a Chinese traveller, and partly of fragmentary passages in the Muslim chroniclers. But fortunately these are not all. The sandstone caves of Orissa form materials of history as imperishable as the solid mountains themselves. Such memorials were till lately the subjects of vague wonder rather than of intelligent inquiry. Their walls and galleries are charged with stories of ancient life, which they in vain struggled to utter by time-effaced inscriptions and dimly sculptured biographies. The men and women and passions of a pre-historic age eye us from the rock; some of them in wild scenes of action, with their teeth set, and hands uplifted to deal an eternally suspended blow, as if the life-blood still shot through their veins. Others gaze sorrowfully out of their stony sockets, as though charged with some solemn secret, but pass along in spell-bound procession, wistfully waving their arms and remaining for ever dumb. We scarcely advance beyond this remote period, when the lamp in the muniment-room of Jagannath begins to shed its dim but never extinguished light. And, once within historic ground, the difficulty is, not to find materials, but to control them, and to bring them within the limits which can properly be assigned to them in this work.

Our earliest glimpses at Orissa disclose an unexplored maritime kingdom, stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna. It was a long narrow strip of coast, everywhere shut out from the Indian continent by a wide *terra incognita* of mountains and forests. Under the name of Kalinga it appears in the list of countries so frequently reproduced in Sanskrit writings, and generally in one stereotyped order, coming immediately after Lower Bengal, as if adjoining it, in the same way as the Lower Provinces of Bengal are invariably placed after the northern ones.[3] It formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India,[4] with its capital situated about half-way down the coast, and still surviving in the present city of Kalinga-

[3] *Vishnu Purana*, iv. 18; Bhagavata, etc., quoted *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, vol. ii. 175, 176. Calcutta, 1769, *Sak*.

[4] Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Pundra. (Pargiter, Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition, p. 158).

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patnam.[5] We soon, however, become conscious of this teritory being divided into two parts. The name Kalinga is applied more distinctively from the delta of the Godavari to the delta of the Mahanadi ; on the north, gradually stands out a separate country. The line of demarcation was loosely fixed, and even as late as the Musalman period, not always recognised. But the mountain spurs which run down to the sea on the south of the Chilka Lake formed a well-defined natural boundary....

The northern kingdom, that thus looms hazily forth on the horizon of history, was known as Odra, or Utkala. Scholars and pandits have long wrangled over the derivation of these words. Odra is the aboriginal name, and survives in the present (Odra-desa) Orissa. The people themselves connect it with the little red jungle rose of the same name, and reverence that flower as one of the five blossoms of heaven (mandar). But Hindu ingenuity has not failed to find an Aryan root for it. They interpret it to signify Filth,[6] and support this derivation by texts which prove that the Uriya tribes ranked low in the estimation of Sanskrit writers. Lassen, with much ingenuity, would make it mean THE NORTHERN COUNTRY, and appeals to its geographical position in the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.[7] Its second name, Ut-Kala, is unquestionably Sanskrit, and affords a more fertile theme for Hindu ingenuity. The orthodox insist that it means THE GLORIOUS COUNTRY; lexicographers suggest that it may only be the LAND OF THE BIRD-KILLERS; and an admirable student of the modern Aryan tongues interprets it as THE OUT-LYING STRIP.[8] There is, therefore, a large choice from which the reader will please to select the derivation he likes best.

Little is known regarding this kingdom before the sixth century B. C.; probably owing to the fact of its being almost uninhabitable. It consisted of a densely wooded delta, where the process of land-making was going on with a vigour that rendered it even more unfit for human settlements than the Gangetic sea-face at the present day. The Mahanadi wriggled through a region, half mud, half water, and all jungle, into the Bay. The shallowest parts were swamps, the deepest parts were brackish lakes, and from time to time the river writhed itself out

[5] The ancient capital of Kalinga was Dantapura, identified by Sylvain Levi with Palura. Under Asoka (3rd century B.C.) the political headquarters of Kalinga was at Tosali and during the reign of Kharavela (1st century B.C.) the capital was at Kalinganagara. Both Tosali and Kalinganagara may be located in between the Dhauli and the Khandagiri hills.

[6] Brahmavadhuta Sri Sukhananda Nath in his *Sabdartha Chintamani*, p. 442, derives the word from unda, dirt. with the affix rak. The derivation is arbitrary and incorrect.

[7] As a prakrit form of Auttara, from uttara, *north*. *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. p. 186. note 2.

[8] See note at the beginning of the foregoing Chapter I.

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of its former bed into new channels, twisting backwards and forwards over the delta in snake-like convolutions; turning fens into deep lakes; silting up inland seas into shallow marshes; toiling slowly and ceaselessly till the firm earth stood up out of the waters, ready for man. Two thousand years ago, the process went on much faster than now. Every mile that the land pushes itself into the Bay of Bengal, its rate of progress decreases. At present, indeed, the Mahanadi has to cross so broad a delta that almost all the silt which it brings down the gorge above Cuttack is deposited before it reaches the sea, and but little remains as materials for the land-manufacture at its mouths. The inundations and catastrophes of Orissa in our days bear the same relation to those of ancient times, which the impotent grumblings of an extinct crater do to the lava streams of a living volcano.

It ceases to be a matter of surprise, therefore, that the only features of ancient Orissa still distinctly discernible from this distance are the all-enveloping jungle, and the frequent shifting and rising of the land. The earliest legends speak of kings hunting over the sites of buried cities, and stumbling against the pinnacles of forgotten shrines. The first Aryan settlers, from the north, found Orissa buried under forests and tall grasses.[9] In the eighth century A.D., we find the Chilka Lake a fine inland sea, crowded with ships from distant countries, and shut out from the adjoining kingdom, on the south, by a forest of many days' journey.[10] It now lies between two fertile districts, and is barely deep enough to float a rowing-boat. In the fourteenth century, Orissa remained the only part of India unexplored by the Musalmans. It is described as 'a tract of forest which extended nearly from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godavari, something less than 500 miles in length, and ran inland for a depth of from 300 to 400 miles.' When at length the Muhammadans tardily penetrated into this *terra incognita,* they found it so cut up by rivers, and so strong in mountain and jungle fastnesses, that they asserted their authority only in the longest-settled and oldest-formed part of the delta. The hills on the west, and the sea-board districts on the east where the process of land-making still went vigorously forward, they left under the native chiefs. Even after the Musalmans had effected their settlements, the country was so little adopted for military movements on a large scale, that its governors frequently asserted their independence, and defied the viceregal troops. The Muhammadan conquerors gladly got rid of the scarcely accessible province as a bribe to the Marhattas. Even at the present day it has not been deemed wise to subject the mountainous inland

[9] Brij Kishore Ghose's *Hist. Puri.* p. 34.

[10] Julien's *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang, traduite du Chinois*, p. 184, ed. 1853.

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jungles to regular British control; and the mouths of the Mahanadi still creep through a region of unbroken forest, thirty miles broad, to the sea.

The first human inhabitants that we can discern in Orissa, are hill tribes and fishing settlements belonging to the non-Aryan stock. Their descendants still survive and perpetuate their ancient names. Among them, the Savars and the Kandhs have preserved their ethnical identity most intact. The Kandh tribe will form the subject of a separate chapter. The Savars[11] appear in very early Sanskrit writings, and are spoken of by them with even more than usual detestation. As the Sudras, or aboriginal tribes who had been subdued into the servile caste of the Aryan commonwealth, sprung from the feet of Brahma, so the Savars and other forest races who successfully withstood the invaders, proceeded from the sweat of a cow.[12] They were goblins, they were devils, they were raw-eaters, they were man-eaters; and the *Vishnu Purana* has concentrated the national antipathy towards them, in its picture of a dwarfish race, with flat noses, and a skin the colour of a charred stake. Another sacred text assures us that they were as black as crows, with tawny hair, red eyes, a chin jutting out, short arms and legs, and the typical flat nose. A third Sanskrit sage adds a protuberant belly, drooping ears, and an ogre mouth.[13] They seem to have made their individuality very strongly felt in ancient India. The beginning of their territory long marked the last point of the Aryan advance. They are spoken of as 'border tribes'[14] who resisted the Sanskrit invaders, scattered armies, and earned for themselves the title of 'the terrible Savars.'[15] Their name even found its way into Greek georgaphies,[16] and the ancient kingdom of Kalinga was known to the distant islands of the Indian archipelago, while still a *terra incognita* to northern India.

Even the fisher tribes who lived upon the shore, and are now pounded down into a low caste of the Hindu community, have never amalgamated with it. Some of them continue at this moment to bury instead of burning their dead. They are still excluded from the Temple of Jagannath, and till within historical times, their pirate galleys were the scourge of the Bay of Bengal.

[11] Variously pronounced Savar, Sabar, Saur, or Sar. As a curious specimen of the disintegration of a word, the name is spelt Savara in the police reports of Ganjam district; Sourah in the collectorate records; and Saur, Sur, or Sar, in the official documents of the adjoining district of Puri.

[12] Mahabharata, quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 391, ed. 1868.

[13] See also Sec. III. of Chap. II. of Carmichael's *Account of the District of Vizagapatnam*. Madras, 1867.

[14] Aitareya Brahmana; *Sanskrit Texts*. i. 483, ed. 1868.

[15] Mahabharata; *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 393.

[16] Carmichael's *District of Vizagapatnam*, p. 86.

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The Chinese traveller who visited Orissa in the seventh century, was warned not to face the resistless fleets of these 'demons;' and instead of taking ship for Ceylon, he proceeded by the long and dangerous land route.[17] He describes the inhabitants of Orissa as tall of stature, black skinned, of rude habits, and speaking a clear ringing language different from the tongues of inner India.[18] They are exactly what we might expect the people of a delta to be, who had settled long enough to acquire the dark colour of a damp tropical region, but who had not yet lost the manly forms which they brought from their ancient highlands.

The Aryan hatred of these forest races rendered the country detestable to Sanskrit writers, and Orissa long held a very different reputation as regards sanctity from that which it enjoys at the present day. It was essentially an impure country. Its people are denounced as having forsaken religious rites, and sunk to the lowest caste known to the Aryan community.[19] Its impurity passed into a proverb,—'He who goes to Orissa, must cleanse himself from the pollution.'[20] This abhorrence of Orissa has left its mark even upon the stories of Portuguese merchants and of casual voyagers. Throughout the sixteenth century, many hundred years after Puri had become the Jerusalem of the Hindus, English travellers believed in a country on the Orissa coast, 'peopled by men who had horses' heads, and fed on human flesh.'[21]

In the midst of these wild tribes dwelt communities belonging to another stock, and representing a very different stage of civilisation. No Sanskrit story has come down to us of the first Buddhist migration to this remote shore. Brahmanical literature views them with an abhorrence greater, if possible, than that with which it regarded the forest races. It never even mentions their names, and they themselves have left behind them no writings of their own. A Sanskrit text informs us, indeed, that a holy sage in the north had five sons, each of whom founded a military kingdom beyond the Aryan territory. One of them conquered, and gave his name to Kalinga.[22] No evidence survives to fix the date of this expedition. Nor do the Buddhist settle-

[17] *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang* par Stanislaus Julien. Paris, 1853, p. 183.

[18] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv. p. 3. Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. ii. p. 199.

[19] *Manu*, Chap. x. Sl. 44. Ed. Devendranath Thakur. *Sak*, 1788.

[20] Jyotishtattwa devala bachanam, quoted in *Tattwabodhini Patrika;* vol. ii. p. 180, *Sak*, 1769. The proverb, however, also applies to Bengal and the whole of Kalinga.

[21] Talboys Wheeler's *History of Madras*, from Official Records. 3 vols. Madras, 1861. vol. i. p. 7.

[22] Dirgha-Tamasa, Anga Banga Kalinga Suhma Pundrakhyam, Valeyam Kshetramajanyata. (Pargiter, A.I.H.T., p. 158).

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ments in Orissa, when first they come in sight, bear in any respect the character of a military occupation. They themselves have long passed beyond the reach of historical inquiry. But their rock habitations survive, and they were certainly not the abode of regal or warlike pomp. They form the earlist historical monuments in Orissa, and are found in many places among the mountains that divide the alluvial strip from the interior table-land. The subdivision of Khurdha is rich in such relics. In Puri district, I explored two hills completely honeycombed with cells and temples; and a beautiful peak that overlooks the Mahanadi at the point where it issues from its gorge, is perforated with antique dwelling-places, cut in the solid laterite. Hard by, are inscriptions which lift the veil from the forgotten phase of human life that calmly ebbed away century after century in these caves. Their sculptured galleries belong to a more recent date, but even the most elaborate, and probably the most recent of them, cannot be placed after the first century A.D.

The earliest inscription is unquestionably that preserved on the Dhauli rock, dated the twelfth year after the consecration of Asoka, or about two hundred and fifty years B. C. Colossal statues of Buddha are found in the recesses of the mountains, and form important materials towards an art history of Orissa. The sanctity of such hill-retreats has survived the faith which consecrated them. Long after Buddhism had been driven across the sea, the shrines of another religion, and temples of other gods, rose amid these lonely fastnesses.[23] Vishnuvite cenobites, Sivaite ascetics, and aged mystics, who believe that long solitude and penance have freed them from the chains of the body, and raised them above all rituals and creeds, crawl about the hill-sides which the Buddhist monks tenanted 2000 years ago. Indeed, so infectious is the passion for religious retirement in Orissa, that even the Moslem invaders yielded to the spell, and have left a mosque on a solitary crag 2500 feet above the world of labour and strife below.[24]

[23] A detailed account of some of the most important of these shrine-hills, will be found in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Cattack.* Stirling gives an admirable description of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in *As. Res.* vol. xv. M. Kittoe contributes some valuable notes to the *Journal of the As. Society,* vols. vi. and vii. James Fergusson may be with advantage consulted in his '*History of Architecture.*' vol. ii., and in the introductory essay to his '*Tree and Serpent Worship.*' Rajendra Lala Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' contains important information for the students of art history. In the following pages Hunter confines himself to a general description and omits, with one exception, the measurements, and other technical notes which he made on the spot.

[24] Hunter means here the Asia range of hills in Cuttack district. This hill range consisting of the Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Alamgiri was a flourishing seat of Mohayana Buddhism during the medieval age. (vide R. P. Chanda, *Memoirs of Arch. Survey.* No. 44; also *Modern Review,* August 1928, p. 217 ff.).

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Any sketch, however brief, of Buddhism would be out of place in this work. The history of a religion which formed the mightiest protest against the caste-debasement of man, and against the materializing of God, known to the ancient world, and which at this moment is the living belief of one-third of the human race,[25] belongs to a region of scholarship into which a district annalist has no entry. In a subsequent volume, when treating of Bihar, the birth-place of the creed, I hope to be able to supply some local colouring-matter to European historians of Buddhism. At present I have only to deal with it as one of the two first forms of human existence, which we can indistinctly discern on the horizon of Orissa history; a form which continued to flourish in that province until the tenth century A.D., and which has left its impress upon the religious beliefs and customs of the people at this hour.

The Buddhist hermits of Orissa seem at first to have held a position somewhat analogous to that of the missionaries who first taught Christianity to the wild tribes of Prussia. Like them, they started from the centre of their faith, after it had attained to stately proportions, and had subdued the more civilised parts of the continent to its influences. Like them also, they seem to have carried with them a love of the beautiful in God's works as well as in their conceptions of His being, which led them to fix their abodes in the most exquisite retreats of nature. Their principal settlement was at Khandgiri, nearly half-way between Puri and Cuttack, and about twelve miles to the west of the present high road. Two sandstone hills[26] rise abruptly out of the jungle, separated by a narrow gorge, one end of which is enclosed by a low ridge that connects the cliffs, while the other extremity is screened by a noble banyan tree, and groves of fruit-bearing mangoes. Massive slabs of laterite once formed a paved path across the ravine, and rose in flights of stairs up either hill. The peaks are a rabbit-warren of caves and temples cut out of the rock. The oldest of them consist of a single cell, scarcely larger than a dog's kennel. Several are shaped into strange distorted resemblances of animals. One has from time immemorial been known as the SNAKE CAVE, another as the ELEPHANT CAVE, a third as the TIGER CAVE. The last stands out from the rock in the form of a monstrous wild beast's jaw, with nose and eyes above, and the teeth overhanging the entrance to the cell. Others are more elaborate, and contain several chambers supported by pillars, and shaded from the sun by a verandah in front. Sculp-

[25] 31.2 per cent, or a little over the number of Christians, who form 30.7. Max Muller's *Lecture on the Vedas*. Chaps. i. 23. ed. 1867.

[26] Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhuvanesvar in Puri district. These two hills were the strongholds of Jainism in the pre-Christian era. Hunter evidently mistakes the Jainas as Buddhists.

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tures of the Hindu deities are carved in relief upon the walls, or on slabs of chlorite fixed into the sandstone. These figures, however, belong to a comparatively recent date, and with the exception of a few worn and blunted representations of the sacred tree of Buddha, the oldest of them cannot be placed before 600 A.D.[27]

A little temple of the Jains, the religious descendants of the Buddhists,[28] now crowns the top of the western hill. It stands upon a masonry platform, beneath which the whole country spreads in a varied panorama. A belt of woodland hems in the sacred mounts on all sides ; but on the south it soon gives place to rice-fields, variegated by promontories of the Khurdha Hills, which jut out darkly on the bright green plains. On the west, the jungle ascends by rolling undulations, culminating in scattered ridges and peaks. On the north, the unbroken forest spreads far to right and left, till it ends in a horizon of lofty mountains on the other side of the Mahanadi. To the eastward, at a distance of five miles, the great Tower sacred to Siva raises its black head above an expanse of mango groves, with a thousand lesser shrines swarming around its base. I saw no priest in the temple at the top ; only an empty vestibule, and an empty sanctuary with high altar, which is decorated with flowers at stated festivals, when trains of devotees defile through the jungle, and worship with a curious mixture of modern superstition and antique rites.[29] The stillness was only broken by the cooing of doves, and the occasional whirr of a hawk. At intervals, the tinkling of wooden buffalo-bells rose from the forest below, and more rarely a faint cock-crow from some distant hamlet. The slopes and precipices were one glory of laurel-like foliage and bright flowers, and the February sun shone down in its calmest and brightest beauty upon all.

These sandstone hills in Orissa exhibit what are believed to be the very earliest memorials of Buddhistic life. The small single cells cut in the inaccessible precipices, utterly destitute of ornament, and crumbling from long exposure to the air represent the first human dwellings yet discovered in Orissa. The most recent date which, so far as I know, has been assigned to them is 200 B. C.[30] But an admirable Indian scholar places even the more elaborate of the adjoining chambered monasteries in the

[27] The sculptures in the caves of Kandagiri and Udayagiri belong to Jainism. The earliest of them may be placed as early as the 1st century B.C. (Vide *Cambridge Hist. of India*, vol. i., p. 639 ff.)

[28] Jainism is much older than Buddhism. Hunter wrongly makes the Jainas, the religious discendants of the Buddhists.

[29] The temple is dedicated to Rishabhanath, the first Tirthankara of the Jainas. Recently an over life-size image of Parsvanath in Kayotsarga pose, carved out of black marble stone, has been enshrined to the right of the main temple.

[30] Fergusson's *Hist. Architecture*, ii. 493. ed. 1867.

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third century before Christ. The single cell caves of Orissa are certainly very much older than anything I saw in Bombay; so much older, indeed, as to belong to an entirely different period. They are holes rather than habitations, and do not even exhibit those traces of primitive carpentry architecture which the earliest of the western specimens disclose. Some of them are so old that the face of the rock has fallen down, and left the caves in ruins. The men who, year after year, crouched in these holes, and cramped their limbs within their narrow limits, must have been supported by a great religious earnestness, little known to the Buddhist priests of later times. Such cells, however, soon give place to more comfortable excavations, shaded by pillared verandahs, and lighted by several doors. These appear to have been intended for the religious meetings of the brotherhood. Some of them are very roomy, and have apartments at either end, probably for the spiritual heads of the community; small, indeed, when compared with the temple chambers, but greatly more commodious than the primitive single cells.

The temples in their turn are succeeded by still more elaborate excavations. Of these, the most important is a two-storeyed monastery known as the QUEEN'S PALACE.[31] It consists of two rows of cells, one above the other, shaded by pillared verandahs, with a court-yard cut out of the hill-side. Two stalwart figures, in shirts of mail down to the knees, stand forth from the wall as guards. One of them wears boots half-way up to the knee; the other seems to have on greaves, the feet being naked, but the legs encased in armour. Whoever excavated this and the neighbouring monasteries, had very much more advanced ideas of comfort than the ancient hermits who cut out the first holes in the rock above. The courtyard opens towards the South, and is lined on the other three sides with rows of chambers. On the right and left appear to be the cooking-room and common dining-hall. The verandahs are commodious, and the rock brackets, which extend from the pillars to support the intervening roof, are finely sculptured. The favourite form of ornamentation in Orissa is one common alike to European and Indian art; the curve of the brackets being skilfully taken advantage of to represent the swelling bosoms and delicately retreating heads of beautiful women. The upper storey contains four large cells, each fourteen feet long by seven broad, and three feet nine inches high. The verandah outside is about sixty feet long by ten broad, and seven in height. Each cell has two doors, and at either end is a rock lion; by no means the conventional monster of the Hindu temples of the twelfth century A.D., but done with some spirit and fidelity, as if the artist had really seen the animal he tried to depict.

[31] The Rani-nur.

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Altogether the QUEEN'S PALACE represents a very different phase of Buddhism from that which consigned its votaries to uncomfortable holes in rocks. The great monastery at Karli (Karli caves) prefers the splendour of its temple to the comfort of the devotees. I could not but contrast its magnificent pillared hall with the adjoining narrow cells in which the monks passed their lives. But the QUEEN'S PALACE in Orissa belongs neither to the period in which the Buddhist missionaries and hermits devoted themselves to meditation in solitary holes of the rock, nor to that other period when the religion had built for itself a stately system of worship, and had gathered its devotees into religious houses. It must have been excavated at a time when the creed had acclimatized itself to the air of royal ante-chambers, and represents fashionable Buddhism not many centuries before its fall.[32]

The upper verandah of the QUEEN'S MONASTERY is adorned with a sculptured biography of its founder. The first tableau, worn almost level with the rock, seems to represent the sending of presents which preceded the matrimonial alliances of the ancient dynasties of India. A running figure stands dimly out, apparently carrying a tray of fruit. The second appears to be the arrival of the suitor. It delineates the meeting of the elephants, and a number of confused human forms, one of whom rides on a lion. From the third tableau the biography becomes more distinct. It represents the courtship. The prince is introduced by an old lady to the princess, who sits cross-legged on a high seat, with her eyes averted, and her arms round the neck of one of her maidens below. The fourth is the fight. The prince and princess, each armed with swords and oblong shields, engage in combat. The fifth is the abduction, depicting the princess defeated and carried off in the princess arms, her sword lost, but her shield still grasped in her hand. The prince holds his sword drawn, and is amply clothed. The princess is scantily draped, with her hair done up in a perpendicular chignon, rising from the top of her head, and a long tress falling over her bosom to her waist. She wears heavy anklets. The sixth is the hunt. A tree forms the centre of the piece, on one side of which the prince and princess are shooting at a bounding antelope; while a led horse stands near, and attendants armed with clubs. The prince draws his bow in the perpendicular fashion. It is about two-thirds his own height. A lady looks down upon the chase from the tree. A court scene follows, in which the prince sits on a throne on the left, with attendants holding fans on either

[32] The Rani-nur (Queen's Palace) gumpha was excavated for the Jaina ascetics and had no connection with the Buddhists. It is believed to be the place of retirement for the queens of king Kharavela, and is assigned to the later part of the 1st century B.C.

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side. Dancing girls and musicians are grouped in front, and the princess appears on a throne on the extreme right. The eighth and nineth tableaux are effaced. Three scenes of dalliance between the prince and the princess follow, and the series in the upper storey ends in a mysterious running figure with a snake twisted round him. The lower verandah exhibits the sequel. A convent scene discloses the princess retired from the vanities of life, sitting at her cell door in the upper storey of a sculptured monastery, with her ladies, also turned ascetics, sitting at separate doors in the lower one. The remaining tableaux, four in number, represent the prince, princess, and courtiers as hermits, with their hands on their breasts in an attitude of abstraction, freed from human passion, indeed even from the necessity of religious observances, and wrapt in contemplation of the Deity.

Throughout, the prince is generally fully dressed, with a cotton garment falling from his girdle, but leaving the leg bare from the knee. The lady wears a feathery headdress, with her hair done up in a towering chignon. A scroll of birds and beasts and leaves runs the whole way along. The battle and hunting scenes are given with much spirit, the animals being very different from the conventional creatures of modern Hindu art.

Higher up the hill, and facing the south, is a smaller monastery or temple, known as the GANESA CAVE, from a figure of the elephant-headed god inside—evidently, a work of much later date than the original cells. The pillared verandah exhibits the exquisite bracket sculptures already mentioned. The inside wall of the verandah is adorned with a series of tableaux, that seem to give a different version of the same story which is told on the frieze of the QUEEN'S MONASTERY. In the first scene, a lady watches over her husband, who is sleeping under the sacred Buddhist tree. In the second, a suitor makes advances to the lady, who turns her head away. He has seized one hand, and she seems to be in the act of running from him, with her other arm thrown up as if crying for help. The third is the battle. The husband and the lover (or perhaps it is the lady and her suitor) fight with oblong shields and swords. In the fourth, the warrior carries off the vanquished princess in his arms. In the fifth, the successful paramour is flying on an elephant, pursued by soldiers in heavy kilts. The prince draws his bow in the perpendicular fashion, as in the previous series, and a soldier has cut off the head of one of the pursuers. The sixth is the home-coming. The elephant kneels under a tree, the riders have dismounted, and the lady hangs down her head, as if in shame or sorrow. The seventh represents their home-life. The lady stands with her hand on the prince's shoulder, while he has one arm round her waist, and in the other hand grasps his bow. The series ends in a scene of dalliance.

The Vishnuvite ascetic, who lives in a little cottage at the

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foot of the hill, as a matter of course declared that the tableaux represent the abduction of Sita, and the expedition of Rama to Ceylon. But whatever may be the story which these sculptures record, it is certain that they do not take their scenery or their heroine from the Ramayana. The whole plot is reversed. The epic relates how an Indian princess was carried off by the demon king of Ceylon, but it does so only as a means of introducing the conquest and slaughter of the cannibal monarch, and the return of the lady in triumph. The abduction, in short, was a failure. In this rock biography, on the other hand, the rape is a perfect success, and Helen and Paris live happily together ever afterwards.[33] But, indeed, the details of the story preclude the possibility of its being derived from the Ramayana. In the one case the suitor comes in the form of an aged ascetic, and accomplishes his crime by treachery; in the other he appears as a valiant warrior, who fights for his princess and wins her.* After the abduction, the Ramayana represents the ravisher as a ten-headed or hundred-headed monster, who carries the lady in a magical car through the air, and is regarded by her with abhorrence. In the sculptured biography the prince and princess escape on an elephant, hotly pursued. Subsequently he wins the affections of the lady, and after a life of courtly pleasures and sylvan amusements, both parties retire from the pomps of this world, and end their days in a Buddhist convent. The Ramayana, on the other hand, closes with a frightful domestic tragedy, and the hero drawns himself in despair.

It is impossible to fix the date of the QUEEN'S MONASTERY with anything like historical precision. But we can come near enough to it for all practical purposes. The ancient annals of Orissa divide themselves into three long chapters, one of which is wholly obliterated by time, and the other two are more or less effaced. The first begins with the legendary Aryan conquest, when one of the five sons of the northern sage hived forth from the ancestral pale and founded the kingdom of Kalinga, probably at least eight centuries before Christ. The second dates from the death of Buddha, 543 B. C., and consists of

[33] The abduction scene is identified by Dr. V. S. Agarwala as representing the Vasavadatta—Udayana story—their flight from Ujjaini (*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, vol. i. No. 3. p. 241). In the *Puri District Gazetteer* it is pointed out to be the marriage scene of Parsvanath, the 23rd Jaina Tirthankara. It may, however, be said that these sculptures depict the scenes from the life of King Kharavela himself.

* The original Ramayana speaks of no encounter between Sita and Ravana; but a later version thinks it more moral to represent her as resisting the ravisher by force of arms. This is the Asita or Satakandha Ramayana, which increases Ravana's heads from ten to a hundred; and which, with all the licence of the modern Hindu imagination, exaggerates the horror of his appearance, thereby making him still more unlike the hero of the sculptured biography. The Asita Ramayana is comparatively little known among the people, at any rate in Lower Bengal and Orissa.

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Ceylonese legends of the sacred tooth, and a more or less mythical account of the first settlements of Buddhism in Orissa. The third opens with the publication of Asoka's edicts, about 250 B. C., and closes with the accession of the Long-haired or LION DYNASTY, in A. D. 474.[34] With regard to the first era we know nothing, and the two latter will be fully treated of further on. At present it will suffice to say that the single cell caves seem to belong to the second, or from 543 to 250 B. C., and the QUEEN'S MONASTERY to the third. It represents a period when Buddhism had become the established religion of the country, and had at its disposal the wealth of kings and queens. On the other hand, one of the ablest Indian antiquarians, pronounces its architectural style, and the inscription which adjoins it, to be anterior to the Christian era.[35] It may, therefore, be placed between 250 and 100 B. C., to which period the other elaborate excavations also belong.

The sandstone caves, as a whole, represent ten centuries of human existence (500 B. C., to 500 A. D.). They form the relics of three distinct stages through which Buddhism passed ; from the period when its first missionaries started out on their perilous work to the time when, full-blown and victorious, it had become the religion of queens and kings. The first was the ascetic age, and is represented by the single sandstone cells, scarcely bigger than lair of a wild beast, and almost as inaccessible. The second, or ceremonial age, has left its relics in the pillared temples where the brethren were wont to meet, with commodious chambers for the spiritual heads attached to them. The third, or fashionable age of Buddhism, achieved its highest, although not its latest effort, in the two-storied QUEEN'S PALACE built at a time when the whole resources of a kingdom were at the disposal of the religious fancies of royalty ; and when art, having lost its monastic tone, had learned to turn even a convent's walls into a record of human pomp.

These great changes in the status of Buddhism represent long periods of time. Indian literature is silent with regard to the cave-dwellers of Orissa, and gives us no clue to their origin, or

[34] Hunter solely relies on legends in fixing the dates. He ascribes the foundation of Kalinga to circa 8th century B.C. Legendary accounts make us believe that King Karandu (Karakandu), the disciple of Parsvanath was ruling over Kalinga about that time. The foundation of Kalinga may, therefore, be placed much earlier than the 8th century B.C. (uttaradyayana sutra, *S.B.E.*, xlv 87).

The Decease of Buddha, according to Ceylonese tradition, took place in 544 B.C. The more correct date is 487 B.C., fixed on the basis of the Cantonese Dotted Record.

The Long-haired (Kesari) or Lion dynasty of Orissa is not known to sober History. Its date 474 A.D. is legendary and unhistorical.

[35] Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, ii. p. 16.

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to the era of their first settlements. But the sacred books of Ceylon supply the defect[36]. The story takes us back to the time when Orissa formed part of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, and when an emperor of the Lunar race still reigned in Northern Hindustan. It relates how, immediately after the obsequies of Buddha in 543 B. C., one of his disciples was commanded to carry the SACRED TOOTH to Kalinga. If the Sanskrit name of the monarch who received it[37] could be trusted, it would indicate that the Orissa tribes had already been subjected to Aryan rule. He worshipped the sacred relic with great pomp, and appointed a splendid festival in its honour. But the disputes between Brahmans and Buddhists which convulsed Northern India, reached even these remote shores. Some of the Orissa princes devoutly adored the tooth; others rejected it; and some returned as converts to its miraculous powers. One of the last, with the intolerance of a proselyte, drove out the Brahmans, and proclaimed that his subjects should worship according to the royal command. The Brahmans carried their complaints to the Hindu King in the north, who is represented as holding a sort of imperial rule over all India, while Orissa appears as a subordinate, although not a subject, kingdom. The Emperor sent one of his tributary princes to subdue the Orissa Buddhist, and to bring 'the piece of human bone.' The invader, however, was converted at the sight of the sacred tooth, and the two princes proceeded with it to the imperial court. There the Emperor in great wrath commanded his priests to destroy it. It was thrown into the fire; beaten on an anvil; trampled into the earth by elephants ; plunged into the city sewers. But in vain. It emerged from the flames as a lustrous flower ; it sunk into the anvil and defied the blows of the mallet ; it rose out of the earth as a lotus with pistils of silver and petals of gold ; and the sewer instantly turned into a celestial lake, covered with lilies, and vocal with honey bees. The Brahman priests tried every art of destruction, and a Vishnuvite sage makes himself especially conspicuous on his efforts to counteract the influence of these failures on the royal mind. At length the emperor proclaims himself a convert to Buddhism, and his whole people receive 'the piece of human bone' as a precious relic of the god.[38]

Orissa next emerges into history about three centuries later, or 250 years B.C. Since that year a rocky eminence on the bank of the Daya River, about a day's journey to the south of the QUEEN'S MONASTERY, has borne an inscription long illegible

[36] Dathadhatawanso, chaps. ii, iii and iv ; *Journal of As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol.vi. pt. ii. p. 860 *et seq*. Calc. 1837.

[37] Brahmadatta.

[38] For a more correct version of the story of the Tooth relic see Introduction of Datha Vamsa, edited by B.C. Law.

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to the Hindus, but at last deciphered by English scholarship.[39] It consists of eleven edicts promulgated by Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of Northern India, with two others apparently added by the local Prince of Orissa.[40] The eleven are almost identical with similar inscriptions published throughout the length and breadth of India, from the southern slopes of the Himalayas to the central Vindhya range, and from Gujrat on the west to the shores of the Bay of Bengal.[41] During 2000 years these graven rocks have proclaimed the unity of God, and the religious equality of man amid an idolatrous and caste-ridden race. But for at least fourteen centuries they have done so in an unknown character, and almost in an unknown tongue. They have at length been made to speak and to disclose that ancient *Civitas Dei,* by which holy men in the East struggled to reclaim the world centuries before the rise of the Christian republic.

They start with prohibiting the shedding of animal blood, whether for food or for religious sacrifices ; and incidentally give a little picture of the imperial house-keeping. Formerly, they say, in the great dining-hall and temple of the heaven-beloved King, many hundred thousand animals were slain for meat. They proceed to describe an organized system of medical aid throughout the whole kingdom and in the conquered provinces as far south as Ceylon. This institution provided advice and drugs for all living creatures ; for the brute creation not less than for men.[42] Wells were also to be dug, and trees to be planted along the roads, for the refreshment of travellers and beasts of burden.

[39] Prinsep's deciphering of the Brahmi inscriptions is a glorious contribution to the study of Indology. Hunter has implicity followed his readings, with such lights, however, as Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* throw upon them. The four volumes of the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1837-1838 are a mine of wealth as regards the history of Orissa. The following are the principal inscriptions which Hunter has collected from Prinsep's writings for this part of his work. (Vol. i. Original Edition) (The names and dates of the inscriptions as in original are retained).

I. The Asoka Edicts on the Dhauli Rock, 250 B.C.
II. The Khandagiri Inscription, representing a later Buddhism, 100 A.D. (?)
III. The Buddhist Merchants' Inscription near Aswastama.
IV. The Udayagiri Inscriptions, also Buddhistic.
V. The first Sivaite Inscription, A.D. 617.
VI. The first Jagannath Inscription, circ. tenth century A.D.
VII. The Ganga Vansa Inscription, A.D. 1132.
VIII. The Bhuvaneswara Slab, Vishnuvite, circ. eleventh century A.D.
IX. Second Sivaite Inscription, twelfth century A.D.

[40] At Tosali (Puri Dist.) and Somapa (Ganjam Dist.) of Kalinga two sets of the 14 Rock Edicts of Asoka excluding the R.Es. xi, xii and xiii have been engraved, and two separate Rock Edicts have been inscribed in each case in place of these three omissions. Hunter wrongly attributes the two S. R. Es. to some local prince of Orissa.

[41] Vide *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1838, vol. vii. part i. art vii, p. 219 to 282, and vol. vii. p. 156 to 167.

[42] This Edict is given separately on page 159 of vol. vii. *Journ. As Soc.*

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They then enumerate the cardinal virtues of the Buddhistic code—obedience to parents; charity to all men, especially to the priests; the non-sacrifice of animals, and reverence for the vital principle in man or brute; dutiful service to the spiritual guide and the propagation of the true creed. The king appoints missionaries to go forth to the utmost ends of the earth and 'intermingle with all the hundred grades of unbelievers for the establishment of the faith and for the increase of religion. They shall mix with Brahmans and beggars, with the poor and the rich, to bring them unto the righteousness which passeth knowledge.' These are the exact words used. They shall deliver 'those bound in the fetters of sin' by declaring the truths that procure the 'final emancipation which is beyond understanding.' 'Among the terrible and the powerful shall they be mixed, both here and in foreign countries; in every town and among all the kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood, everywhere!'

The edicts then go on to regulate the household life of the people. They speak of a system of moral surveillance greatly more searching than that of the *censor morum* in the primitive age of Rome, or than the domestic jurisdiction exercised by the elders in Puritan Massachusetts, or by the kirk-session in Presbyterian Scotland. They remind one of the minute supervision of Ruskin's ideal church. Overseers watched over each stage of the citizen's life, from the cradle to the grave. No circumstance, however private, escaped their scrutiny. A staff of inspectors was appointed 'for every season, for behaviour during meals, in domestic relations, in the nursery, in conversation, and on the bed of death.' Care was taken, however, that these overseers should not degenerate into spies; and the king solemnly declares that he has instituted the system not for his own gain (through fines or penalties), but for the eternal salvation of his people. The Greeks who travelled in the train of Alexander to India bear witness to the good faith in which the inspectors did their work. Arrian ranks them as the sixth class in the Indian commonwealth, and calls them by the same name which the early Christians applied to their spiritual overseers, and which now survives in the title of Bishop. 'The Episcopi,' says Arrian, 'take cognizance of whatever happens, whether in the town or the country, and report it to the king where the Indians live under regal rule, and to the magistrates where they govern themselves. They are forbidden to carry unfounded tales, nor indeed have any of the Indians been taxed with the vice of falsehood.'[43]

The next tablet consists of a prayer for the spread of the faith, 'and that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind.' But it contains nothing like a hint at religious persecution, and speaks of 'every diversity of opinion' being

[43] Indicae, cap. xii.

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blended together 'in undistinguishing charity.' The king then contrasts the hunts and feasts and gaming parties of former sovereigns with the more spiritual enjoyments which he has inculcated on his subjects. The world, he says, seeks pleasure in many ways,—in marriage, in offspring, and 'in foreign travel'; but true happiness is to be found in virtue alone, in 'kindness to dependants, reverence to spiritual teachers, humanity to animals, alms-giving to the priests.'

Such was the moral code of Buddhistic India two hundred and fifty years before Christ. But there remain two other tablets, distinct from the general series of Asoka's Edicts, and which seem to lay down local laws of the sovereign. They partake of a political character, and begin by proclaiming the penalties for murder. Capital punishments were not unknown. Much stress is laid upon the individual will of the monarch, who appears to enjoy that despotic authority which is less characteristic of ancient than of mediaeval India. 'This I publicly proclaim,' he says, 'and I will carry it into effect, for my supreme will is irresistible.' They soon, however, glide into the religious admonitions characteristic of Buddhism. 'Much longing after the things of this life is a disobedience. Not less so is the laborious ambition of dominion in a prince. Confess and believe in God, who is the worthy object of obedience. Strive ye to obtain this inestimable treasure.'[44]

We have, therefore, a picture of an ancient kingdom governed by a code which elevates the moral duties of man into legal obligations, a kingdom which professedly took its religion from a superior monarch in the north, and which submissively published his edicts, but which in its turn was ruled by a prince who combined a paternal oversight over the households of his people, with the authority of an absolute monarch. Such was Orissa in the third century before Christ. We catch a glimpse at the patriarchal age in the very act of dissolving into the despotic era which followed.

The next inscription is some hundreds of years later, but so far as the evidence goes to show, not much, if at all subsequent to the beginning of our own era. The abrupt introductory clause of Asoka's Edicts has developed into a regular invocation, and the grammatical inflexions hold an intermediate place between the very ancient and the mediaeval inscriptions. In a short biography of one of the kings of Kalinga,[45] it relates how,

[44] For more correct translations of the Rock Edicts of Asoka vide E. Hultzsch, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. i, Inscriptions of Asoka.

[45] King Kharavela of Chedi dynasty. The Hatigumpha inscription in Udayagiri hill near Bhuvanesvar depicts his activities as a boy, as the crown prince, and as the king of Kalinga upto his 13th regnal year. For this inscription vide Prinsep. *J.A.S.B.* vi, pp. 1075-91; Cunningham, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, i, pp. 27f; 98-101; 132ff; R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of*

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after a youth passed in many sports, and matured by nine years' study, he ascended the throne in his twenty-fourth year. The new monarch is Jaina by faith. He engages in great public works, rebuilds the city walls that had been destroyed by a storm, constructs the reservoirs of cool water for the poor, and builds for himself a magnificent palace. Musicians and dancing girls beguile his leisure, but the inscription describes him as 'still inclining to virtue,' amid the delights of youth. He next appears in the character of a warrior, and marries the daughter of a hill prince. Afterwards 'inclining to charity,' he converts the spoils of his enemy into alms. Nor is an occasional glimpse wanting of him in his judicial capacity. He imprisons a wicked king in a cavern, and condemns 'the murderer to labour.' At length, 'finding no glory in a country which had been the seat of the ancient princes, and reflecting'—(here a break takes place), he appears to go on pilgrimage, and distributes charities innumerable. Finally, 'he causes to be constructed subterranean chambers and caves containing temples and pillars.'

This and others of the inscriptions prove, in the opinion of the scholar to whom we owe their decipherings, that Kalinga was at that time an emporium of trade. We know from other sources, that shut out as Orissa was from the general polity of India, it boasted of fabrics which it could send as valuable presents to the most civilised monarchs of the interior. So fine was the linen which the Prince of Kalinga sent to the King of Oudh, that a priestess who put on the gauzy fabric in public was accused of appearing naked.[46] The rock inscriptions speak of 'navigation' and 'ship commerce' as forming part of the education of the Prince. Besides the Buddhist port of Tamluk, it could be predicated that the Chilka Lake must have been very much deeper at that remote period than now; and if it were only deep enough at present for ships, it would form one of the finest harbours in the world. Year by year we see the delta pushing itself out into the sea, unconsciously bearing witness to the truth of a long undeciphered inscription, which speaks of caverns that are now fifty miles from the shore as hollowed by the wind and waves, and 'ocean-born.' When, therefore, we hear of its monarch, eighteen hundred years ago, being educated in maritime trade; when we find that it had transactions with Java

Orissa, ii, p. 16ff; Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*, pt. iii, sec. 2, pp. 152-77; Buhler, *Indian Studies*, iii, p. 13; Fleet. *J.R.A.S.* 1910. 242 ff; 824; Luders, *List* No. 1345; K. P. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, iii, p. 425 ff; iv. p. 364f; xiii, p. 221 ff; F. W. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, p. 83f; K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.* xx. p. 72f; B. M. Barua, *Old Brahma Ins.* No. 1; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, xiv, p. 261ff D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* p. 206ff.

[46] Csoma's *Analysis of the Dulva. As. Res.* xx. 85; *Journal As. Soc.* vi. 1837.

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and the islands of the Indian Archipelago in pre-historic times;[47] when the Chinese traveller of the seventh century speaks of the Chilka as 'a great lake, the harbour for ships from distant countries; and when we find the factories on the coast of Orissa a favourite resort of the early European traders with Bengal, the chain of evidence is complete. There can be no doubt that Orissa, shut out from the rest of India by forests and mountain ranges, developed relations with countries across the sea. Its misfortune at present is, that while the hilly background still walls it out from the inner continent, its rivers have silted up and isolated it, by their bars and mudbanks, from the rest of the world.

The first local legend of Orissa refers to an invasion from the sea. It is now time to turn from the cave-dwellings and inscriptions of the Buddhists to the Brammanical archives of Jagannath. These curious records consist of a piles of palm-leaves neatly cut, and closely written over with a sharp iron pen without ink. Their contents have been three times investigated, and I am inclined to believe that all the really historical matter has now been extracted.[48] We owe the most successful of these researches to a learned Brahman of Calcutta, who published an epitome of the palm-leaf writings in Bengali in 1843. He informs us that he spared neither labour nor expense; and as one of the most devoted of the modern worshippers of Jagannath, he had special opportunities for the work. I cannot withhold my tribute to the conscientious toil to which the work of this admirable scholar bears witness.[49] It contains, however, rather the germs of history than an historical narrative. It furnishes

[47] See further on, and the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, vol. ii. p. 179. Calcutta, 1769. *Sak.*

[48] The first investigation was made by Stirling's pandits, and the result is preserved in his admirable description of Orissa in the fifteenth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. The second was by Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyaya author of the *Purushottama Chandrika*, the Bengali work from which Hunter has chiefly derived his materials. The third was by Rajendra Lala Mitra, who inspected the temple archives in 1868, and arranged for their being copied. It is perhaps a matter of regret to scholars rather than to historians, that the priests did not permit the work to go on after the learned antiquarian's departure. Prof. Antaballabha Mohanty has edited and published the Madala Panji on behalf of the Prachi Samiti.

[49] He entitles his work the *'Purushottama Chandrika arthat Sri Kshetradhamer Bibaran.'* The first twenty-two pages consist of an account of the four Regions of Pilgrimage in Orissa, done from personal observation, and illustrated by passages from the *Purushottama Mahatmya*, and the *Kapila Samhita*. The main body of the work is entitled *Madala Panjika arthat Kaliyug probartan abodhi; Sri Sri Dhame pratidibasiya brittanta yahate likhitahaya tahar nam Madala Panji kahe taha haite udahrita.'* It is derived from the palm-writings direct, and is fuller and more carefully done than Stirling's excellent sketch. It is now becoming a rare work even in Bengal. The copy Hunter used belongs to Jaykissen Mukherji of Utterpara.

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a list of a hundred and seven kings of Orissa from 3101 B C. to the British accession in 1803 A. D., with the exact dates of their reigns. This list I venture to relegate to an appendix. The names may be very useful to numismatists and decipherers of inscriptions ; but they are the milestones of history rather than history itself.

Indeed, the very exactitude of the dates is one of the chief difficulties in using them. For, as already hinted, the early annals of Orissa are marked off by periods rather than by dates, and for many a weary stage without any dates whatever. We know absolutely nothing about Orissa prior to the Buddhistic settlement, except that it was wholly unknown to the writers of the Veda ; that it was known only as a wild outlying strip, peopled by barbarians, to the writers of the Epics ; that at some time previous to Asoka (250 B. C.) it was colonized by Sanskrit-speaking communities ; and that the Buddhist legend of 543 B. C. assigns to it a Sanskrit-named king. But such meagre items by no means satisfy the temple chroniclers of Jagannath. We owe something, however, to their forbearance. They pass over the first three ages of the world in silence. They furnish no details touching the 1,728,000 years when the whole world was virtuous ; nor with regard to the 1,296,000 years when three-quarters of it were virtuous ; nor even with regard to the 864,000 years when half of it remained virtuous ; but good-naturedly start with the commencement of the present era, in which three-fourths of mankind are lapsed in wickedness, or from 3101 years B. C.

During these three thousand years twelve kings reigned in Orissa, averaging a little more than two hundred and fifty years apiece. The first three of them are well known monarchs of the Mahabharata, and they divided among them no fewer than 1294 years.[50] At whatever period the Aryan settlement took place in Orissa, we may conclude, therefore, that it did not start from Nothern India, the seat of these kings, before 1807 B. C. The first king with any pretensions to being a local monarch reigned from 1807 to 1407 B. C. It is only in the time of his successor, however, or between 1407 and 1037 B. C. that we begin to catch any faintest glimpse of Orissa. During this reign the Sanskrit-speaking colonists are said to have pushed their way down to Godavari River, but it is not till we reach the sixth monarch of the list that we hear of the capital city being founded. This brings us down to between 1037 and 822 B.C., and we may place the foundation of the Aryan sea-coast kingdom of Kalinga within these two dates.

[50] From 3101 to 1807 B.C., according to the *Purushottamas Chandrika*. The acount of this work should not be taken as historical. Hunter. however, relies on it while writing these pages.

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But in whatever century the Sanskrit-speaking race arrived, there can be no question regarding the route by which they travelled. The local legends point to the same conclusion as the inductions of European scholars, and prove that the Aryan colonists marched down the valley of the Ganges, and skirting round Bengal, reached Orissa, and through it the Madras coast.[51] Between 822 B. C. and the Christian era, seven monarchs ruled over Orissa; but being local kings, they have only the meagre allowance of 125 years each.

The last 500 years of this period were those in which Buddhism effected its settlements in Orissa. The Ceylon texts place the advent of the Sacred Tooth in Puri at 543 B. C. They probably antedate this event, however, as European researches now render it doubtful whether the first missionary efforts of Buddhism must not be placed half a century later. But it is a curious coincidence that the temple archives record an invasion from the north between the years 538 and 421 B. C., which is the very period to which the Ceylonese chroniclers assign the Buddhistic conquest of Orissa. The palmleaf record calls the new arrivals Yavanas, a word which is sometimes translated as Mughals, and sometimes as Greeks. One thing is certain, they came from the north. The next three reigns were disturbed by similar invasions,[52] and as a matter of fact the Buddhist texts of Ceylon, and the Brahmanical archives of Jagannath, alike declare that the five centuries before Christ were centuries of northern invasion, and of great confusion in Orissa. Successive waves of colonists from the north allowed the country no rest. Buddhism and Brahmanism in turns claimed the supremacy among the Aryan settlers, but those settlers as a body steadily increased in numbers and in power, and imposed their language and their religion upon the people of the land. Notwithstanding the Ceylon legend which depicts Orissa as the theatre of a great religious revival immediately after the death of Buddha, no local memorials of Buddhism bear witness to its existence before 300 B. C.

Before entering on the Christian era it may be well to say a few words with regard to the tolerant light in which Buddhism appears in these Orissa inscriptions. The popular notion in Europe is that this religion forms a cataclysm in the history of India, a violent and total upheaval which subverted the social relations, and raised the military races and the low-castes by the degradation of the Brahmans. To a certain extent this is true. But, as on the one hand nothing can be more absolute than the declarations of the royal authority which the Orissa Inscriptions contain, so, on the other, nothing can be more respectful than the manner in which they speak of the priestly classes. They

[51] *Indische Alterthumskunde.* [52] *Purushottama Chandrika,* pp. 24, 25.

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specify Brahmans by name as objects of profound reverence and of liberality. They strongly assert their claims, and place obedience to the religious guide among the cardinal virtues. Although breathing from first to last the spirit of freedom, and contemplating all races and castes as subjects for the operation of their faith, and as equal heirs to the salvation which they believed that faith to bestow, yet they distinctly recognised the teacher as the superior of the taught; and so far from degrading the Brahmans, they appear to look on them as peculiarly suited for the high office of spiritual leaders.

Nor do the Orissa inscriptions make any parade of that monotheism which is popularly regarded as the second distinctive feature of the Buddhistic faith. They proceed from first to last on the assumption that there is but one God. But they do not bring forward this doctrine with any particular prominence. They start from it as an axiom rather than declare it as a dogma. Indeed, the later inscriptions bear witness to the existence of other religions coexisting with Buddhism, and one of them describes the Orissa monarch who engraved it as a 'worshipper of the sun.'[53] Here, too, as elsewhere, the names of the monarchs bear testimony to the ancient religion, and to the tutelary Brahmanic gods. Kharavela whose life is recorded in the rock inscription of 50 B. C. was a Jaina by faith but he showed favour both to the Brahmanists and the Buddhists. The inscriptions scattered throughout Upper India prove that the ancient Hindu triad never wholly lost the veneration of the people, and received some casual acknowledgment even from priests and kings during the Buddhistic era.[54]

The one great feature of Buddhism, as interpreted by the Orissa inscriptions, is its intense humanity. It provides alike for the bodily comfort and for the eternal salvation of all whom it can reach. While the Brahmanical religion kept its consolations for a single race, and even within that race jealously doled out its fragments of spiritual instruction to the different castes, Buddhism cried aloud in tones of earnest remonstrance to the whole Indian world, and covered the rocks with its missionary appeals. Nothing can be more solemn than the commands which it lays upon its followers, to go forth among all races and to all countries, and to preach 'the righteousness which passeth knowledge.[55] The Orissa Buddhists found themselves far away from the religious centre of their race, and surrounded by forest tribes and aboriginal superstitions. The mention of these primitive races and 'barbarian countries' had therefore a peculiar significance. They set up no tests of race or of birth. 'Every righteous man,' says one of the Cuttack tablets 'is my true subject.

[53] *Journal As. Soc.* vi. p. 1074. [54] *Idem,* vol. iii. of 1834.
[55] Asoka's Fifth Edict. Dhauli version. *Journal As. Soc.* vii. i. 253.

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When a man relieves his fellow from the bondage and misery of sin, he releases himself.' Wherever there is religious darkness there shall the truth be preached, 'both here and in foreign lands, in every town, even to the ends of the barbarian countries; and these being themselves absorbed in righteousness, shall become minister of the faith.'[56]

But this proselytizing spirit bears no trace of Brahmanical intolerance. I have already quoted the edict in which the king 'ardently desireth that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind,' yet in which he emphatically declares his still greater anxiety that 'every diversity of opinion, and every diversity of passion, may shine forth blended into one system, and be conspicuous in undistinguishing charity.' Throughout the whole I catch no glimpse at anything like compulsory conversion. Indeed, the edicts repel the very idea of such measures, and declare that the truth can be reached only by an inward process—a process of conviction and not of force.

But the Buddhism of these inscriptions does not confine itself alone to the spiritual side of man's nature. Its strong humanity labours to increase the sum of physical happiness. It cares for the sick, it digs wells for the thirsty wayfarer, it plants shady resting groves for man and beast. It jealously guards the life of all created beings, organizes a system of medical relief for diseased animals, and in some respects anticipates that higher Christian humanity which protects the dumb creation against the oppression of man.

It has too often been the practice to speak of the Sanskrit-speaking castes as steeped in an arrogant ethnical isolation, and shut off from the rest of the ancient Indian nations by a great gulf of abhorrence and contempt. But it must be remembered that Buddhism is as typical a religion of these Sanskrit-speaking races as the Brahmanism which went before it, and the Hinduism which succeeded it. The earliest form of Brahmanic faith is the religion of a comparatively small race fighting its way among tribes greatly inferior in civilisation and in spiritual conceptions. The next form is Buddhism, which joins the spirituality of the first stage to an intense humanity, and which, I believe, did more to make India an Aryan continent than all the wars of the epic poems. It is the old religion vitalized by nobler sympathies and built on a broader basis. The third stage is that hybrid of spiritual conceptions, outward superstitions, and inward unbelief, which seems to have germinated almost simultaneously in India and Europe upon the breaking up of the ancient forms of Aryan faith.

It is into this third stage of the Indian religion that we are about to enter. The first Christian century also marks the com-

[56] Fifth Edict. Dhauli version.

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mencement of the current Indian era,[57] which has just reached its 1792nd year (1870 A.D.). It takes its name from the brother of King Vikramaditya the Augustus of Indian literature, to whose reign the exquisite drama of Sakuntala and the other graceful poems of Kalidasa belong.[58] This monarch extended his influence over a great part of India, and the temple annalists claim him as the local King of Orissa as well as the Emperor of Hindusthan. With the fratricide which put an end to his life, the heroic age of the Jagannath chronicles ends. The legends of that period are provincial adaptations from the great Indian epics, but they have just sufficient local truth to show that the two great northern dynasties of Oudh and of Delhi came frequently into collision with the minor kingdoms in the South East which their colonists had founded beyond the Aryan pale. Wave after wave of hungry adventurers poured down upon these settlements from the north, and the Orissa sovereigns, according to the palm-leaf record, sometimes carried the war into the parent country. Until the third century after Christ the newcomers seem either to have been driven back or to have speedily amalgamated with the previous settlers. But between the years 319 and 323 A.D. came Red-Arm (Yavana) and his forces by way of the sea... A local tradition relates how, about the year of our Lord 318, the Yavanas came sailing across the sea, and cast anchor off the holy city of Puri, hoping to surprise the temple, with its store of jewels, and treasure-house of costly oblations. But the priests, having for days beforehand seen quantities of litter from the horses and elephants drifting ashore, fled with the precious image, and left an empty city to the invaders. The Urya prince fled to the jungle, and there died miserably. His titular successor was slain by the invaders, and the latter seem to have retained undisturbed possession of the country till the year 474 A.D.

Who were these invaders ?... The temple archives call them Yavanas, but this intimation only shifts the difficulty. The Yavanas are themselves one of the great enigmas of Indian history; a race, who, under various modifications of the same word[59] flit through the whole cycle of Sanskrit literature; whose name has been dug up on long buried copperplate edicts, and deciphered on pre-historic rock inscriptions; and whose traces everywhere confront the local antiquarian—alike in the distant Punjab valleys, in the temple archives of the Bay of Bengal, in

[57] The Sakabda commenced from 77-78 A.D.

[58] The saka era is counted from the date of accession of Kanishka (78 A.D.), the patron of Asvaghosha, Vasumitra, Parsva, Charaka, Nagarjuna etc. His identification with the brother of King Vikramaditya the patron of Kalidasa is historically wrong.

[59] Yavanas in the Epics and Puranas; *Yonas*, a regular contraction of Yavana, in the Rock Inscriptions (as *lona* for *lavana*, salt, in Prakrit) Javanas and Jabanas in the modern vernaculars.

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the recesses of the Central Plateau, and in the dynastic records of the extreme south-west of the Peninsula. I propose to put together such fragments of evidence as I possess with regard to this lost people, for it is only by boldly showing the breaks in the chain that an isolated observer can hope the missing links will come to light. The scent often becomes faint, and the chase ends abruptly on the Malabar coast eight hundred years ago; but it yields several distinct, although fugitive, glimpses of a race which has long disappeared from India; which has almost escaped European research; but which has left a great and lasting influence on Indian history, science and art.

The Yavanas first make their appearance in the Epic poems, that is to say, at a period which, although not yet fixed with precision, was probably anterior to the expedition of Alexander in the fourth century B.C.[60] The Epics enumerate them in the list of foreign or non-Aryan races, such as the Sakas or Scythians, and the Pahlavas or Persians, who surrounded the frontiers, or dwelt like the Savars in the interior recesses of India.[61] They are introduced in the typical struggle between the representatives of the Priestly and the Warrior castes for the supremacy in the Aryan polity; but they take part in the strife,[62] not as a component part of the Aryan community, but as a distinctly foreign element produced for the occasion by abnormal and miraculous means. They are nowhere spoken of as a servile, or even as a subject people, but as an external race of warriors who had lapsed into a degraded state, owing to the want of a Brahman priesthood in their country, and to the consequent extinction of sacred rites.[63] One text, indeed, obscurely separates the Yavanas from the other barbarian nations, and seems to intimate an Aryan descent.[64] But their religious status was precisely that of other frontier races, and of the interior aboriginal tribes.[65] The *Vishnu Purana*,[66] which, although of much later date, derives its geography to a large extent from the Epics, states that the Yavana country is the western boundary of India.

Up to the fourth century B.C., therefore, the Yavanas were known to Sanskrit literature as a warlike foreign race, classed among the tribes to the west of the Himalayas, differing in their

[60] Lassen thinks that most of the Mahabharata is older than the political ascendency of Buddhism (i. 489 *et seq.*); Goldstucker argues that Max Muller has not shown that the early portions may not have co-existed with the Sutra period (*Panini*, 78); but the Epics are so mixed up with later matter, as to furnish a quiverful of arguments to Roth, and the advocates of a more modern date.

[61] Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 391, 398, 482, etc. ed. 1868.

[62] Between Vasishtha and Viswamitra.

[63] *Mahabharata* Anusasanaparvan, 2103-4, 2158-9. *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 482.

[64] *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 482.

[65] *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 484.

[66] *V. P.* ii, 3. 7. *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 485.

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religious system from the Brahmanical settlers in India; but represented in no abject relation, and even obscurely intimated to have been connected with the Aryan commonwealth by some primitive tie which had ceased to exist. At the close of the fourth century Alexander's expedition took place; and after this event, the term Yavana in Indian literature applies unmistakeably to the Greeks. The Sanskrit grammarian of the second century B.C.[67] mentions that 'the Yavanas eat lying down,' a statement which at once suggests the Asiatic Greeks; and Professor Cowell indentifies the Yavanas or Yonas of India with the Yavan of the Hebrews, and the Ionians of Grecian history. It is under the form of Yona[68] that the word occurs in the rock inscriptions; and at this moment a Hindu, when asked to transliterate the root *Iou into* Sanskrit lettes, writes Yona, the exact word which we find in the Buddhist Edicts 250 B.C.

How came the name of the Indian Greeks into Ionian literature before the time of Alexander? We know from other sources that the Ionians, being at once the most Asiatic and the most mobile of the Greek colonists in Asia Minor, were often confounded with the whole Greek race. With but two exceptions, they built their towns upon pre-existing settlements of Asiatics, and in many cases received the natives as fellow-residents in the new community. In some instances, indeed, they took no women with them, and intermarried with the people of the land. The wives of the Greek Milesians in primitive times neither ate with their husbands, nor mentioned their husbands' names[69]—two genuine Asiatic customs preserved in every Hindu household to this hour. The Ionians in a special manner made themselves at home among the Asiatics, moved about in Asia with a power of diffusion all their own, and stood forward as the Grecian type to the Eastern world. Psammetichus, the founder of the first historical monarchy in Egypt, consolidated his power by means of Ionian mercenaries from Asia Minor, whom he settled on the eastern branch of the Nile.[70] As the Ionians figure on the horizon of Egyptian history in the seventh century B.C., so a hundred years later they make their appearance on the first establishment of the Persian Empire. Cyrus, at the outset of his operations against the Asiatic Greeks, sent heralds to seek an alliance with the Ionians;[71] and when afterwards subdued, their patriotism projected a Pan-Ionic emigration to Sardinia, which would have left nothing but empty cities and untilled wastes to the conqueror.[72] During half a century they remained a part of the Persian Empire. It was the

[67] *Patanjali*, 140-120 B.C. Goldstucker's *Panini*, 234, ed. 1861.
[68] See *ante*, *note* 59. [69] *Grote*, ii. 370, ed. 1862.
[70] Herodotus, ii. cap. 150., 154. [71] *Id.* i. cap. 76.
[72] *Id.* i. cap. 170.

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Ionian revolt from Darius that thoroughly awakened the Athenian spirit of resistance to Persia, and formed the first scene in that glorious drama, in which the curtain drops in the four succeeding acts upon Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis and Platæa. The Persian camp was crowded with Ionians; to Ionia the Persians retired when driven out of Greece; and it was there that an Ionian rising put a finishing stroke to the Persian fortunes at Mykale. We cease to be surprised, therefore, that the Ionian name was well known to the Persians, and that among them the term Ionians came to apply to the whole Greek race.[73]

Now the ancient Persians, or Pahlavas, were themselves known to the Indians not merely as a neighbouring race. In the sixth century B.C. Darius had sent a Persian expedition to the Indus; his generals conquered the adjoining nations; and his fleets frequented the Indian Sea.[74] The Persian Settlements appear to have communicated a knowledge of writing to the natives; and Panini, who belonged to one of the tribes whom Darius subdued,[75] calls this art 'Yavanini.' Whether it refers to the Greek or the Cuneiform alphabet is doubtful, but it bears the name of the Ionians; the name which afterwards became identified in Indian literature with the Greeks.[76]

The Yavanas next appear, not as a distant shadowy race beyond the western frontier, but as an allied monarchy conterminous with it, and finally as an armed host, fighting battles and sacking towns in the heart of India. Any uncertainty as to their nationality is removed by the Orissa Rock inscription of Asoka, which speaks of Antiochus the Yona (Yavana) King.[77] The Asoka Edicts belong to the middle of the third century before Christ; and at that precise period Antiochus Theos (261-246 B.C.) was at the height of his fame, and his generals were busy in the Bactrian and Parthian kingdoms. The scenes of Antiochus' personal exploits lay chiefly in Western Asia; and the Asoka Inscriptions with minute historical truth refer to the eastern provinces of his Empire, which alone were subject to Buddhistic influences, as the dominion of Antiochus the Yavana monarch, *of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers.*

From the time of Asoka, 250 B.C., therefore, the Yavana becomes distinctly individualized, and may be safely taken to

[73] Æschylus, *Pers.* 562—565, and probably also in the passage beginning at 178.

[74] *Herodotus*, iv. 44.

[75] Goldstucker's *Panini*, 16. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 422; ii. 112, 113.

[76] The gratitude of Indian students to Max Muller is not lessened in consequence of a misconception which evoked Goldstucker's masterly dissertation on Panini's knowledge of writing, p. 13 to 66.

[77] In the Asoka Inscriptions the name of Antiochus occurs four times,—thrice as Antiyako, and once as Antiyoko; the final *o* being the regular Pali mutation of the Greek masculine nominative in *os*. Prinsep's *Essays*. Thomas' edition, ii. 15, 17 and 18.

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mean Græco-Bactrian, or some other representative of the Asiatic Greek. The great enterprises of Alexander and Seleucus left a residual element in India,—an element constantly recruited by adventurous bands from the Græco-Bactrian or Parthian kingdoms. To the north of these kingdoms lay the aggressive overflowing tribes of Central Asia; to the south-west the friendly Buddhist potentates of the Ganges. The inevitable migrations southward, which have repeated themselves again and again in Indian history, soon began. In 126 B.C. a fierce Tartar tribe pushed the Greeks out of their northern kingdom of Bactria; and a hundred years later, a Persian host burst down upon their territories in the Panjab. It was in this Province that the Indian Ionians had established themselves most strongly—that is to say, amid the scenes of Alexander's expedition, and as near as possible to the Græco-Bactrian basis; indeed the great Hindu dramatist specially mentions the Yavanas as thus settled beyond the Indus.[78] It was impossible for the Ionians to hide their nationality in India. The Greek historians suppply a list of eight kings, but the coins already discovered raise their number to nineteen, between 256 and 120 B.C., besides the semi-barbaric dynasties.[79] They prove that princes who used the Ionian alphabet, or bore Ionian names, scattered their coinage over the north of India, from the Himalaya to the mouth of the Indus, and from Afghanistan on the west to the river Jumna. The Greek voyager of the first century A.D. found such coins near the modern Surat; and as far back as the third century B.C., a Greek presented a pillar to the Buddhist monastery at Karli, south-east of Bombay.[80] The name of a city of Gujarat[81] still bears witness to the Yavana occupation of that province. Meanwhile we become more and more distinctly conscious of their presence in the valley of the Ganges. The Sanskrit grammarian of the second century B.C. mentions that 'the Yavanas laid siege to Oudh, the Yavanas besieged the Madhyamikas.' The latter were a Buddhistic sect, and he cites these occurrences as notorious facts that had occurred some time before, but still as occurrences which the writer might have himself seen.[82] The Sanskrit dramatist best known to English readers brings in an Amazonian guard of 'Yavana women, with bows in their hands, and wearing garlands of wild flowers,' as part of the pomp of the Delhi

[78] The Malavikagnimitram, ascribed to Kalidasa. Cowell's note to Elphinstone's, *History of India* p. 148, ed. 1866.

[79] James Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 173-224, ed. 1858.

[80] His name was deciphered as Theonikos by John Wilson, as Xenocrates by Stevenson; but these readings, as also the date, must be received with caution. J. Wilson's *Essay on the Religious Excavations of Western India*, p. 23.

[81] Junagarh=Yonagarh. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 795, ed. 1862.

[82] Goldstrucker's *Panini*. 229 et seq.

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Court.[83] But from the very first, the Indian king who figures chiefly in Greek history was a Maurya monarch whose capital lay within the Middle Gangetic Valley.[84] It was to his Court, in the land of the Eastern people,[85] that the Greek embassy repaired at the close of the fourth century B.C. A generation later, when Asoka succeeded to it, and Buddhism became the royal religion, he carved the name of Antiochus the Greek upon the Rock Edicts, which promulgated the national faith.

Through this Buddhist kingdom of Magadha or Bihar the Yavanas, or Javanas, found their way into Orissa.[86] The alluvial flats of the Ganges furnished no rocks for inscriptions, and the delta has long ago buried in its slimy accretions any less perishable memorials which they may have left behind. But proceeding southwards, as soon as we next reach a stone country, we come upon their track. I have already alluded to their name in the Orissa inscription of 250 B.C., and almost the only historical events which the Temple Archives preserve from that remote age are repeated inroads of Yavanas from the north. The Jagannath Records date their first invasions between 538 and 421 B.C.; probably confounding them with the earlier Buddhist migrations, of which the Ceylon writings furnish independent evidence. Another expedition belongs to the succeeding reign, 421-306 B.C., but the nationality of the invaders is not identified. Between 306 and 57 B.C. the Yavanas seem to have been a constant source of disquiet to the Orissa Princes. Many battles were fought, the invaders were driven back, but again come upon the scene, and apparently effect a lodgment. The Temple Archives say that they came from Kabul, Iran, Kashmir, Sind, and Delhi,[87] in short, from the Greek settlements beyond the Himalayas, and in the Panjab, from which the Græco-Bactrians were, during the latter part of this very period, pushed southwards by the Tartar and Persian hordes. But little trust can be placed in the Jagannath records when they condescend to minute details. They were compiled many centuries later, and can only be accepted as representing the popular legends; at a period, however, when local traditions were fresher and

[83] *Sakuntala,* Act ii. verse 35; Act vi. verse 158. Monier Williams' edition, 1853.

[84] Chandragupta of Pataliputra, modern Patna.

[85] The Prasii, or Parhasii, from Prachi, Sanskrit, east; identified as Magadha, the kingdom of Asoka.

[86] The Greeks (yavanas) are never known to have invaded Orissa. Hunter relies on the Madala Panji for writing the accounts of the Greeks in ancient Orissa. But the Panji itself does not mention the word 'Yavana' anywhere, and the word 'Mugala' mentioned by it has been identified with 'Murunda.' The Murundas came to India along with the Kushanas and occupied Orissa for sometimes during the early Christian Centuries. See ante Ch. i, f. n. 29.

[87] The temple Archives do not mention these names. They mention only 'Dili' which may be the same as Delhi.

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infinitely nearer the truth than they are now. The Yavanas were probably the race who predominated in such expeditions, or who led the most memorable of them. But it would be putting an unfair strain on such archives to assume that the term 'Yavana' means exclusively Greek, or even Græco-Bactrian. The word soon acquired a wider meaning, which embraced the whole series of Buddhist invaders from the north.

The period of the Yavana inroads into Orissa is contemporary with the establishment of Buddhism in that Province.[88] We know that Orissa received its Buddhism from the middle valley of the Ganges, which from the time of Megasthenes, at the end of the fourth century before Christ, was brought peculiarly into contact with the Greeks. The authoritative promulgation of the faith in Orissa bears upon its face the name of the Greek or Yavana King Antiochus.[89] Amid the series of Yavana invasions which followed, Buddhism effected its permanent settlement, and constructed its lasting memorials in the Province. From the middle of the first century before Christ till 319 A.D. the Palm-leaf writings yield no materials for the history of Orissa; but between 319 and 323 A.D. the last great inroad of Yavanas took place, and for 146 years their supremacy was complete. It seems probable that this long silence on the part of the Brahmanical Records is itself an indication that the intervening centuries had been a period of defeat and degradation to the Brahmanical faith. It is certain that these centuries were the period during which the Buddhists honeycombed the mountains and excavated the rock monasteries of Orissa. It is also certain, as we shall presently see, that the final expulsion of the Yavana dynasty from Orissa in 473 A.D. was the signal for the restoration of the Brahmanical faith under a line of orthodox monarchs.

The very fact of the greatest and most typical Yavana inroad into Orissa having been made by way of the sea, would suggest a doubt as to whether the invaders were ordinary Hindus. We certainly find no precedent in Sanskrit history; and the idea of braving the ocean in armed galleys in order to descend on a Province which could easily be reached by dry land, is repugnant alike to the Hindu genius and the Brahmanical faith. But it formed an adventure exactly suited to the imagination of the Asiatic Greek. It was Alexander's sail down the Indus reproduced upon the Ganges, with the continuation of Nearchus' exploratory armament along the coast to the west of the river

[88] Buddhism was known in Orissa even before Asoka, but it was systematically organised there during his rule. The Yavanas have no connection with the spread of Buddhism in Orissa.

[89] The Yavana King Antiochus is mentioned in Asoka's Rock Edicts ii and xiii, which are found in many parts of India. R. E. xiii has not been inscribed anywhere in Orissa.

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mouth. The memorials of the Yavana kingdom in Central India record a similar voyage, and elephants figure on board ship in both. The same spirit would doubtless tempt the Yavanas—or, as the word is spelt in Orissa, the *Javan*—on more distant expeditions. As a matter of fact the islands of Java and Bali were colonized from the Kalinga or Orissa coast in the first century A.D.,[90] and five hundred years later, an Orissa[91] harbour formed the starting-place for a voyage to the Java Archipelago. It seems probable, therefore, that the Buddhist Javanas of Orissa gave their name, and eventually their creed, to Java, long a stronghold of Buddhism, and that Ionian enterprise has thus left its mark on the remotest islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Iono de Barros and the early voyagers call the Javanese, Jabans or Javans—the same word, letter for letter, as it is spelt in Orissa, where the vernacular does not distinguish between *b* and *v*; and the name applied not only to Java, but to the surrounding islands.[92] This conjecture obtains a further probability from the fact that Bali, the sacred island of the Javanese, bears the name of the hero in the Indian epic, whose kingdom tradition assigns to Orissa.[93]

But even the secluded shores of Orissa were not destined to afford the Yavanas a permanent resting-place. In 473 A.D. they either moved southwards or were pushed out by a new dynasty,[94] which seems to have been elevated to the supremacy by a religious revival ending in the restoration of the Brahmanical faith. We next come upon them in the kingdoms immediately to the west and the south of Orissa. Some time in the fifth century, that is to say, at the very period when the Temple Archives represent them as being ousted from Orissa, the Yavanas established a dynasty in the great interior plateau now known as the Central Provinces. The copperplate grant dug up at Seoni, on the high road between Northern and Southern India, as illustrated by Bhau Daji's re-examination of the Ajanta caves, supplies us with

[90] The Hindu era in Java dates from 74 A.D., according to Prinsep's *Tables*, 154, ed. 1858; or from 78 A.D., according to Sir Stamford Raffles, ii, 71. The name Kalinga still survives as *Kling* in the Javanese Records, and sometimes refers to the whole of Indian islands. *Raffles*, ii. 73, 87, etc., 4to ed. 1817.

[91] Tamralipta, now Tamluk. Fa-Hian sailed from it *via* Ceylon, and the Chinese Buddhist describes Java as full of Brahmans and heretics. Buddhism and Brahmanism long co-existed in the parent country Orissa, and doubtless the fluctuations of religious ascendency which characterize the Buddhistic era in India were reproduced in her colonies.

[92] *Raffles*, i., Introd. xxi. 3, etc., where this type of various fanciful derivations for the word will be found.

[93] Bali, whose territory has been placed to the south of the Vindhyas, but whom the Uriyas claim as their mythical monarch, while his capital is fixed by the Telugu Palm-leaf MSS. at Vizianagram, within the ancient kingdom of Orissa. Taylor's *Examination of the Mackenzie MSS.* in the Madras College Library, p. 28.

[94] The Kesari, or Lion line, according to the Madala Panji.

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a list of seven Yavana princes who ruled in Central India from the fifth century to about the ninth.[95] The inscriptions relate how they conquered all the surrounding countries from the eastern to the western ocean, and on the north from Broach, where the author of the Periplus found the Greek coins in the first century A.D., to districts within the Madras Presidency.[96] 'We read,' says the able historian whom the Central Provinces has recently produced, 'how these unknown princes shamed the king of heaven by their prosperity; how their beneficence made earth better than elysium; how the world trembled at the march of their elephants, and how the seas were swelled by the tears of the queens whom their conquests had widowed. But of the more humble home affairs, which would at least have given them a sure place in local annals, there is nothing. The kings of the eastern and southern coasts are awed at the progress of the great Karna,[97] and his name makes itself felt even in Kashmir among the Huns; but we hear nothing of the real extent of his petty kingdom, nor of the struggles which he must have maintained with the then rising power of the aboriginal chiefs. The alliances of the family with the reigning princes of name are pompously recorded, and its genealogy is traced back to heroes and demi-gods.' One of their viceroys 'crosses the sea with his elephants, and penetrates into supernatural regions; but from the mass of fable which he has accumulated round his name, it cannot even be gathered with certainty when he ruled and where he ruled. Through the froth and false glitter of these inscriptions, all that can really be ascertained is that in the fifth century a race of Yavana origin ruled from the Satpura plateau.'[98]

[95] These kings are definitely known to have belonged to the Vakataka dynasty. Owing to a wrong identification of the name Vindhyaśakti, the earliest prince of this line, scholars formerly mistook these kings to be of the Yavana or Greek race. Even the well known antiquarian Bhau Daji fell into this error. For his opinion see *Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society*, viii 428. See also introduction to the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, by Charles Grant, lv, lviii, Nagpur 1870.

[96] According to the lines 14-15 of the Ajanta inscription in Cave xvi Harishena, the Vakataka prince conquered Kuntala (Northern Mysore including Bellari district), Avanti (western Malwa), Kalinga (Coastal territories from the Mahanadi to the Godavari), Kosala (South Kosala), Trikuta (Nasik district), Lata (Gujrat) and Andhra (Eastern Coast between the Godavari and the Krishna). For this inscription vide *Hyderabad Archaelogical Series* No. 14.

[97] The name 'Karna' is a misreading of 'Yasodharman' in the Mandasor inscription dated 532 A.D. The inscription presents an eulogy of his exploits and conquests, including his victory over the Huna King Mihirakula of Kashmir. (For the Mandasor inscription, vide Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 35). Yasodharman is certainly not a Greek. Karna may also be Karna Kalachuri of the 11th century A.D. But he had nothing to do with Kashmir.

[98] Hunter's accounts regarding this so called Yavana race are based on wrong reading and corrupt interpretations of some Vakataka inscriptions, as well as, the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman.

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But no sooner does the curtain thus abruptly fall upon the Yavanas in Central India, than we begin to catch glimpses of them to the southward,—glimpses which at once confirm the scanty information supplied by the above inscriptions, and enable us to continue the history of the race. The next kingdom to Orissa down the Madras coast was Andhra, whose capital, Warangul, is still to be found upon the map, about half-way between the Godavari and Haidrabad. The Andhra king of this far south dominion alleged that they had sprung in remote times from the Andhra race of the Buddhist kingdom, in the middle valley of the Ganges, to whose court the Greek ambassador had repaired three centuries before Christ, and through which the Yavanas or Ionins subsequently reached Orissa.[99] Such a legend, taken by itself, possesses neither more nor less of historical trustworthiness than would an unsupported tradition deriving the Dorians of the Peloponnesus from the Doric highlands on the north-west of Parnassus. In the latter case, extraneous evidence has raised the bare presumption to an historical fact; and while investigating Bhagalpur District within the limits of the ancient Gangetic kingdom of Magadha, I found a curious confirmation of the Andhra tradition. Between the Haidrabad territory in Southern India and Bhagalpur on the banks of the Ganges, there exists a link based on local traditions in both places, and a story of the monarchs of Southern India being connected with the Gangetic kingdom found its way into an account drawn up for me by the joint-magistrate of Bhagalpur. But at the beginning of the sixth century of our era we touch more stable ground. About 515 A.D., the chronicles of the Madras coast relate how the existing dynasty in Andhra was overthrown, and succeeded by nine princes of a foreign race called Yavanas, who reigned for 458 years, or till 963 A.D.[100] The period of their supremacy, although marked by religious fluctuations, was in the main Buddhistic; and as in Orissa, their downfall took place amid a great religious revival, ending in the re-establishment of Brahmanism, and indeed of the very form

[99] Hunter here means that the remote ancestors of the Andhras were in Magadha, which is wrong. The Andhras were an ancient Dravidian people, who occupied the country between the Godavari and the Krishna. The *Aitareya Brahmana* (cir. 800 B.C.) mentions them as living beyond the pale of Aryan civilisation. But the earliest Andhra capital, known to us, was Andhapura, situated on the Telavaha river, identified with the Tel in Kalahandi.

[100] Hunter's accounts of the dynastic history of the Deccan, are also defective. About 550 A.D. the Chalukyas of Vatapi (or Badami) came into prominance in the Deccan. Although V. Smith calls them as of foreign origin (*Early History of India* 4th Edn. p. 440), Indian Tradition makes Hariti as their progenitor, and regards them as an indigenous Kshatriya race. Their power was destroyed by the Rashtrakutas in 741 A.D. (*E. P. Ind.* xxv pp. 25-31), who, on their turn ruled upto 973 A.D.

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of Brahmanism which as we shall presently see, gained the supremacy upon the expulsion of the Yavanas from Orissa.[101]

These Southern Yavanas reached their height about 782 A.D. In that year they make their appearance in the Tuluva Records on the western shores of the Peninsula.[102] Buchanan, in his journey along the Malabar coast in 1801, came upon a Brahman whose ancestors had held the hereditary accountantship of the district since the time of the dynasty which began in 714 A.D. From him the traveller obtained a local chronicle based upon family papers and ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, and giving an account of a line of Yavana princes, who drove out the reigning house in 782 A.D., and kept possession of the kingdom for fifty-four years. They claimed Andhra descent, came from the eastern side of the Peninsula, and were originally of the Jain religion, into which Buddhism had by that time disintegrated.[103] They formed an outlying military settlement of a powerful Yavana kingdom behind them on the north and east; and when they ceased to be able to hold the maritime strip below the mountains on the western coast, they seem to have retired back upon the parent kingdom in the interior plateau. They make their last appearance at Seringapatam.

This brings us to a point even farther south than that assigned by the panegyrical inscriptions of Central India as the limit of the Yavana monarchy. But it is a point which the southern Yavanas reached as a fugitive dynasty, and the scenes of their prosperous rule lay farther to the north. The local annals of the eastern and the western shores of the Peninsula, therefore, leave no doubt as to the substantial truth of Grant's account of a great Yavana power in the heart of India, which took its rise in the fifth century A.D., about the very time when the Yavanas were expelled from Orissa, and which during the next few hundred years subjugated a large part of Southern India. I have no evidence to show that the Yavanas of the Central Provinces in the fifth century were the Yavanas who in the same century were expelled from Northern Orissa. But the valley of the Mahanadi afforded an easy route for the Orissa Yavanas'

[101] Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism were prevailing in the Deccan under the rule of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, although perceptible decline was marked in the fold of Buddhism. The religious movements were, however, not the cause of the downfall of these powers.

[102] The Tuluvas were the rulers in the South Kanara district. Their power was destroyed by the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra in 1191. None of their records, so far known to us, speak of the Yavanas.

[103] They seem to have belonged to the Western Ganga dynasty, but the accounts given about them are erroneous. The rulers of this dynasty were great patrons of Jainism. See Francis Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, Kanara and Malabar*; Madras Reprint of 1870, ii, 278-274. Also, *Report on the Kolar district*, para 41; Bangalor Jail Press, 1869.

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retreat into the Central Provinces,[a] and it still continues to be the high road between these countries. It appears, indeed, that while one branch of the Orissa Yavanas thus fell back on the interior plateau, another was pushed southwards, and formed the nucleus of the Andhra Yavana kingdom, which dates from 515 A.D. Even the Brahman chronologers, upon the restoration of their faith, had to admit the long-continued supremacy of the alien race. The *Vishnu Purana,* complied in the eleventh century, when Hinduism had almost stamped out Buddhism from India, enumerates among the later dynasties who ruled after the breaking up of the ancient orthodox monarchy in Andhra, a line of eight Yavanas.[104] The local traditions which I have brought together, and which have survived in spite of the 900 years of Brahmanical intolerance and Moslem anarchy which followed, show that the Yavana power was at its apex in the eighth century; and Colebroke, quoting a writer of this very period, classifies the non-Hindu languages as four in number, of which the Yavana formed one.[105]

From the tenth century we lose all trustworthy traces of the Ionians in India. The name of Yavana survived, but it ceases to be possible to identify the people so called with the race whom I have now tracked from the Epic period, in which they were known only as a half-fabulous tribe, dwelling on the western frontier of the habitable world; down through the Alexandrine and Græco-Bactrian eras, to their conquest of Orissa; and thence to the inscriptions of the Central Plateau, and the local annals alike of the western and the eastern shores of Southern India.[106] During the fourteen centuries through which we have pursued the chase, the meaning of the term Yavana underwent

[104] According to the Seoni and Ajanta inscriptions Vindhyasakti was the founder of the Vakataka dynasty, but the Puranas mention one Vindhyasakti as belonging to a race called the Kolikilas. *Vishnupurana* declares that the Kolikila kings were Yavanas (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* p. 48). Modern Scholars are not inclined to identify Vindhyasakti, the founder of the Vakatakas with Vindhyasakti of the Kolikilas (N. N. Ghosh, *Early Hist. of India,* pp. 279-280). The Ajanta inscription states that Vindhyasakti Vakataka was a dvija, which usually means a Brahmana, and may also mean a Kshatriya.

[105] The four were, Yavana, Parasika, Raumaka, and Barbara, corresponding to (1) Greek or Asiatic Greek, (2) Persian, (3) Latin and (4) unclassified barbarian tongues. *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. i. p. 453. The Indian Greeks had probably lost almost all traces of their original language by this time; but, as we shall see, they had imported individual words from it into Hindu science, which, taken along with popular tradition, would lead a careful observer, such as Celebrooke's authority, to identify the Greeks of the Levant with the long isolated Yavanas or Ionians of India.

[106] It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the Mackenzie MSS. as materials for a history of Southern India. They form a noble collection of Folios in the Asiatic Society's Library at Calcutta, written in a delightfully clear hand, carefully distributed into separate volumes, and affording a most accessible field for research.

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several modifications. At first it suggested to the Indian mind nothing more distinct than a warrior race, dwelling in a *terra incognita* in the far west. But for at least twelve centuries, that is, from 250 B.C. to 950 A.D., it had been associated with a long series of invaders from the north (beginning with the Asiatic Greeks), who had ousted the native dynasties and erected Buddhism upon the ruins of the Brahmanical faith. It had probably been applied in some cases to invaders with no claim to Ionian or Græco-Bactrian descent, but who, like them, *came from the north, and brought in new religious rites.* These were the two crucial characteristics of Yavanas in the Hindu mind, and in the end they led to the transfer of the name to a people more widely separated by race and religion from the Ionians. than the Ionians were from the Hindus.

For the North was again about to send forth a race of invaders bringing with them a new faith, and destined to establish themselves upon the wrecks of Hindu dynasties and Hindu beliefs. The Moslem invasions of India practically date from the eighth century, when the Arabs temporarily conquered Sind. The first years of the eleventh brought the terrible Mahmud Sultan, whose twelve expeditions introduced a new era into Hindustan. From this time it becomes difficult to pronounce as to the race to which the term Yavana applies. At first, indeed, the Moslem invaders, especially in Southern India, were distinguished from the dynasties of Ionian Yavanas by the more opprobrious epithet of Mlechhas. But as Islam obtained a firmer hold upon the country, this distinction disappeared ; and popular speech, preserving the old association of northern invasion and a new creed with the word Yavana, applied it indiscriminately to the ancient Ionians and to the new Musalmans. Before the Muhammadan power, the heretic and the orthodox dynasties of India alike collapsed, and in a few centuries the ancient Yavanas had ceased to preserve any traces of their nationality. All former differences of race or creed were pulverized in the mortar of Islam, and the word Yavana grew into an exclusive epithet of the Moslems. Even in the very localities which had formed the scenes of the typical Yavana kingdoms the remembrance of the Ionian dynasties faded away, and an Orissa Inscription[107] of 1516 A.D. applies the word distinctively to the Muhammadans. In the modern vernaculars it signifies Arabian, Turkish, or Mughul,[108] but it is now seldom

[107] Inscribed on the seventh pillar under the terrace on the north side of the temple of Simachalam, within the modern district of Vizagapatam, part of the ancient territory of Kalinga. App. ii. to Carmichael's *Vizagapatam*.

[108] H. H. Wilson gives it a wider application, and applies it to both the Muhammadan and European invaders of India ; indeed, as a general term for any foreign or barbarous race.

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used at all, and colloquial Oriya and Bengali have long ceased to remember the original Ionic meaning of the word. Aurangzeb is, *par excellence*, the Yavana king.

But although the history and the very name of the Greeks in India have thus perished, their influence has survived. They brought with them a spirit of maritime enterprise unknown to the Hindus, and the rudiments of that science without which maritime enterprise is impossible. Scholars have long ago noticed that Sanskrit astronomy contains Greek technical terms. The most learned astronomer among the Brahmans[109] came of a family belonging to the middle valley of the Ganges, which is pre-eminently associated with the Ionians. He lived in Central India, in the sixth century, at the very period when the Yavana power there approached its height, and the two specialities of his writings are his frequent references to the Yavanas and the use of Greek astronomical terms. Indeed, he derived not only his nomenclature, but several of his doctrines, from Ionian science; and one of his authorities, whom he cites as the Yavana Lord, is believed to be a corruption of the Greek name Speusippus. His commentator briefly characterizes the Yavanas as a race skilled in astrology. This in no way impugns the ability of the Vedic Brahmans in the twelfth century B.C. to make astronomical observations for their calendar;[110] it only shows that their successors, fifteen hundred years later, borrowed largely from Greek science. The calculation of eras was a speciality of the priesthoods of he ancient world. Besides their fabulous back reckonings of thousands of centuries, the Chaldeans claimed to have an actual observation 1903 years before Alexander the Great. But without a knowledge of the stars more practical than we have any reason to believe the Hindus acquired for themselves, it would have been perilous to make the long voyage from the Yavana settlements in Orissa to the islands of the Archipelago. The starting-place for such expeditions in the fifth and the seventh centuries was Tamluk, on the Hugli; and the Javanese records show that the original colonists of Java started from the Orissa or Kalinga coast in the first century of our era. Both the Chinese pilgrims visited Tamluk, and found it the starting-place for souhern voyages (Fa Hian, 399-414 A.D.; Hiouen Thsang, 629-645 A.D.); and I shall give an account of it in a later part of this chapter. It now lies on the Rupnarayan River; but in early times the sea, which is at

[109] Varahamihira, born at Ujjaini A.D. 530, died 587. Sir William Jones makes him flourish in 499 A.D. *As. Res.* viii. 195. Calc. 1805.

[110] Weber's doubts as to Colebrooke's calculation (Indische Studien, i. 85) must be held to be finally dissipated, and Goldstucker's views (*Panini*, 74) established, by the re-examination of the solstitian points by Archdeason Pratt and Main: *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal* for 1862, 49). See also Haug's *Aitreya Brahmanam*, i. 43-47. Bombay, 1693.

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present sixty miles off, washed its harbour. I accordingly speak of it as situated on the Hugli, which gives a sufficiently correct idea of its ancient position.

Not only, therefore, do the memorials of the Yavana Kingdom, whether in Orissa or in Central India, speak of maritime expeditions on a great scale, but the era of their migrations into Orissa forms the very period when the colonisation of Java from the Indian coast took place. Such enterprises stand out in strong contrast to the land expeditions of Sanskrit literature, which thinks it needful to invent a fabulous bridge in order to convey its armies across the narrow straits to Ceylon. Even without the evidence which I have put together to connect the Yavanas with the Ionians, these voyages would strike one as singularly opposed to the history of the home-loving Indian, and as singularly in accord with the genius of the sea-exploring Greek.

Hindu medicine also acknowledges a debt to the Yavanas. In a Sanskrit treatise, written three hundred years ago,[111] I find mention of a preparation of *Bhang*, 'communicated by the Yavanas,' and purporting to be copied from a work by a Yavana author, Muphar. It seems to have been derived from very ancient times, and is described in a good Sanskrit verse, supposed to be written just after the assemblage of the sages in the Himalayas for the purpose of investigating the medicinal substances of nature two million years ago. A Hindu physician, during the past ten centuries, if he had borrowed a remedy from foreigners, would have concealed a fact which would have made him an outcast, and ruined him in his profession. The Indian practitioners inform me that their Pharmacopœia contains several other Yavana preparations—for example, one from beef, and another from pork, which are evidently borrowed from a foreign system of medicine, and have to be made up with the greatest secrecy through fear of the Hindus.

The Ionians not only brought fragments of Greek science to India, but they formed the vanguard of that great Reformation which stands out as the most conspicuous fact in the religious history of the pre-Christian world. From the first Buddhist era in Orissa, 250 B.C., till the tenth century A.D., the Yavanas are invariably associated with the nobler faith. Any attempt to launch out upon a general view of the spread of Buddhism in India would be out of place in this work. It must suffice to say, that while from the silent testimony of coins, with which no subsequent ages can tamper, scholars conclude that the Ionian kings in Northern India merged into Buddhistic dynasties ; so in Middle and Southern India, the Yavanas everywhere appear

[111] Jogamrita Sar, Sanskrit MS. in Bengali character.

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either as the representatives or as the heralds of the reformed religion. While Buddhism continued as Buddhism in India, the Yavanas were typical Buddhists; and when it merged into Jainism, the Yavanas became equally identified with the Jain faith.

Nor should this surprise the careful student of Indian history. We have seen that, from the first, the kingdom with which the Greeks were most intimately connected was the Gangetic monarchy which afterwards formed the focus of Buddhism, and which at length authoritatively promulgated the faith over the whole Indian continent—a province which to this day bears the name of Bihar, literally, the Buddhist Monastery, and retains as its capital the city to which the Greek ambassador repaired three hundred years before Christ. The Greek adventurers in India found themselves in the midst of a great conflict of creeds. On the one side Brahmanism, with its cast-iron classification, refused the strangers entrance into the respectable castes, and ranked them, both socially and religiously, with the savage aboriginal tribes. The haughty Greek, accustomed to call all non-Hellenic mankind Barbarians, suddenly found himself in the minority among an even more exclusive race than his own, and branded by a far more opprobious epithet[112] than that which he applied to foreign nations. On the other side, Buddhism opened its arms to the strangers, engraved their names in its edicts, and offered them absolute equality with the triumphant sect. Whatever may have been the process, there can be no doubt as to the result. The Buddhist party attracted to itself the new adventurous element, and found in the Yavanas exactly the allies required for the geographical dissemination of its faith. When that dissemination was resolved on, the Indian Buddhists sought formal alliances even with Greek potentates beyond the Himalayas; and a group of treaties with Antiochus Theos, Gonatus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Megas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Macedon, attests their political activity.[113] The Ionians in India were essentially an unsettled race, a people without a home. Their history, so far as we know it, is a succession of military occupations and forcible expulsions,—a history which repeats itself alike in the Græco-Bactrian kingdom beyond the Himalayas, in the Punjab, in Central India, in Orissa, and in fact till they finally disappear on the extreme south-Western shore of peninsula. They formed a nation of pioneers for ever on the move; the very people to give effect to Asoka's proselytising edicts, which command the Buddhists to go forth and preach the truth 'both here

[112] Mlechha.

[113] For the separate authorities, see Fergusson's *Hist. Arch.* ii. 456, ed. 1867.

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and in foreign lands,' 'even to the uttermost ends of the barbarian countries.'[114]

At first sight it may seem that the copious mythology of Brahmanism would appeal more strongly to the Greek religious sense than the cold theism of Buddha. But the polytheism of India resulted from a process the very opposite of that which gave birth to the bright gods of Greece. The intensely personal genius of the Greeks could not endure impersonal deity. Indeed, the Greeks, in vividly realizing the individuality, lost sight of the infinity of God. The Indian intellect grasped exclusively at the very attribute which the Hellenic imagination had let slip. The idea of the Infinite sunk into its unruffled calm, like a stone on the bosom of a lake, constantly widening its circles, till they enclosed the whole area of Hindu belief. Instead of the polytheism of Greece, with its host of divine personalities, instinct with human sympathies and with more than human grace, Brahmanism had arrived at a Pantheism which, in its straining after the Absolute, carelessly acknowledged many things as gods only because it believed God to be co-extensive and co-existent with all things. But, practically, the Buddhism which the Yavanas disseminated, especially in its later form of Jainism, was no cold abstraction, with a single dim figure-piece of a deity in the illimitable background, but a religion enriched by a chronological mythology which mapped out the foretime, a creed prolific of saints, legends, and relics. It required temples, tombs, and monasteries; and the architectural exigencies of Buddhism produced the earliest buildings of which any trace survives in India.

These buildings belong to a totally different style of construction from the Greek orders, but their ornamental figures exhibit a Grecian type. It is long since scholars perplexed the learned world by the discovery of unmistakeably Greek faces and profiles in ancient Buddhist sculptures. Such sculptures enrich almost all the larger museums in India, and their labels briefly describe them as 'Buddhist or Greek.'[115] The purest specimens have been found in the Punjab, where the Ionians settled in greeast force; and it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the debt which the Indian historian or art student owes to Cunningham, Leitner, and Bellew. In the Lahore collection I saw, among many beautiful pieces, an exquisite little figure of an old blind man feeling his way with a staff, which might have been dug up near the Sette Sale along with the Laocoon. Its subdued

[114] Rock Edict V, Dhauli version. *As. Soc. Journal* for 1838, vii. 250. It may be stated that Hunter's quotations from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* invariably refer to the original Bengal Society, and not the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

[115] These are the products of Gandhara School of Art in which Greek Plastic practice combined with Buddhistic thought and ideology.

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pathos, its fidelity to nature, and its living movement dramatically held for the moment in sculptured suspense, are Greek, and nothing but Greek. It is human misfortune, culminated in wandering poverty, age, and blindness—the very curse which Sophocles makes the spurned Teiresias throw back upon the doomed king—

'Blind, having seen ;
Poor, having rolled in wealth ; he, with a staff
Feeling his way, to a strange land shall go.'

As we proceed eastward from the Punjab, the Greek type begins to fade. Purity of outline gives place to lusciousness of form. In the female figures, the artists trust more and more to swelling breasts and towering chignons, and load the neck with consantly accumulating jewels. Nevertheless the Grecian type of countenance long survived in Indian art. It is perfectly unlike the present coarse conventional ideal of sculptured beauty, and may even be traced in the exquisite profiles of the Sun temple, built in the twelfth Century A.D., on the remote Orissa shore.

I hope that, in my anxiety to track the Greeks through India, I have not been led to make the record more complete than the evidence will bear. Missing links constantly break the chain, and in some parts the difficulty of identification becomes insuperable. For it must never be forgotten that the word Yavana is an indeterminate name, and was applied loosely to several sets of invaders who brought in a new religion, and came from the north.[116] A similar indefiniteness grew up around the word Mughal, which in less than three hundred years acquired four distinct meanings in India.[117] But the facts brought together suffice to connect the Yavanas in a special manner with the Græco-Bactrians of Ionian or semi-Ionian descent, and to prove that, in spite of the oblivion which for centuries has entombed their Indian migrations, the

[116] For example, the reference to the Huns of Kashmir in Charles Grant's *Account of the Yavana Kingdom of Central India*, suggests the Scythians, or White Huns, who moved into India and down the Bombay coast, *via* Gujrat, about the beginning of the Christian era. Cosmos Indicopleustes, 535 to 547 A.D., states that Northern India was inhabited by a fair-skinned people called Hunni. They also appear in the Saran Inscription of the Pala Dynasty, circ. ninth century. Gibbon speaks of the White Huns being pressed down from the north by the Turks. Circ. 545 A.D., cap. 42.

[117] (1) The half-heathen, half-Muhammadan hordes who swept down upon India during Chingis Khan, Ala-ud-din, Muhammad Tughlak, etc. These were true Mongals. (2) Timur and his successors. Timur was a Chagtai Turk, and to this tribe the Indians next applied the term, although Timur and Babar hated the Mughals, and subverted the kingdom of Chingis Khan. The Muhammadans never called the Emperors of Delhi Mughal kings, but Timuri or Chagtai kings. (3) Up to 1550 the wave of migration into India flowed from Turan ; it then set in from Persia, and to the Persian white-skinned foreigners the word was next applied. (4) As a general term for any Muhammadan, especially a Muhammadan invading force. (The last category is questionable).

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Greeks have exerted a permanent influence upon Hindu religion, science, and art. I now return to Orissa, on whose shores the Yavanas or Ionians, during their fourteen hundred years of wandering throughout India, halted for a season and found rest.[118]

Their expulsion took place in 474 A.D., when a deliverer arose in the person of Yayati Kesari, the founder of the Long-haired or Lion-line, which ruled Orissa during forty-three generations, or till 1132 A.D.[119] The new dynasty was Brahmanical rather than Buddhistic from the first, but no evidence exists of any great immediate change in the popular faith. Buddhist hermits still prayed among the rocks, and rich devotees continued to honeycomb the sandstone hills with fresh cave-dwellings. But the creed was wearing itself out, and before the accession of the new dynasty Buddha's Sacred Tooth had been removed from Puri to Ceylon. The ancient Sanskrit gods, who had all along co-existed more or less distinctly with Buddhism, now asserted their supremacy, and came forth arrayed in their new garb as modern Hindu deities. Guided by signs and wonders, the king sought out the image of Jagannath in the jungles, where it had lain hid during the Yavana occupation, and brought it back to Puri in triumph.[120] Siva and Vishnu, the All-Destroyer and the All-Preserver, began their great auction, bidding against each other for the popular reverence by unscrupulous compromises with human infirmity, and ever ready to pollute their temples in order to fill them with devotees. In a previous chapter I have traced the progress of Vishnu-worship in Orissa, and its culmination in the Jagannath Festivals of the present day. But in spite of the temple chronicles, which naturally glorify their own god, it is Siva-worship which, during the decay of Buddhism, first enters upon the scene.

For 150 years Buddhism and Siva-worship struggled for the victory. At the end of that period the contest had practically ceased. The reigning monarch was a worshipper of the All-Destroyer, with Bhuvaneswar, the temple city of Siva, as his capital.[121] Year after year the Buddhist hermits, in their cave-dwellings, gazed across the five miles of fruit-bearing groves towards the great tower of Siva, slowly rising in the distance. Of the 7000 shrines which once clustered around it, not more than

[118] These lines are to be taken with caution.

[119] This is the Luner dynasty (Soma Vamsa) which ruled over Orissa from about the middle of the 9th century to 1112 A.D. The fact that Yajuti Kesari, the legendary founder of this dynasty flourished as early as 474 A.D. is entirely based on tradition recorded in the Madalapanji.

[120] See ante Ch. i. f. n. 29.

[121] The monarch refered to is the Soma Vamsi ruler Yajati ii Maha-sivagupta who flourished in the 10th century A.D. and constructed the famous Lingaraja temple at Bhuvanesvar. The Capital of the Soma-vamsis was at Chauduar and not at Bhuvanesvar.

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500 or 600 now survive. They exhibit every stage of Orissa art, from the rough conceptions of the sixth century, through the exquisite designs and ungrudging artistic toil of the twelfth to the hurried and dishonest stucco-like make-believes of Hindu architecture at the present day. These curious relics will soon, I hope, be treated by a scholar who brings to the subject greater knowledge and technical accuracy than I have been able to devote to it.[122] But I cannot altogether pass over the exquisite friezes, scrolls, and carvings which adorn these long-deserted walls.

One of their most ingenious ornamentations was the infinite variety of forms into which the erected hood of the cobra is worked. Sometimes it forms a gloria above a god ; sometimes it appears as a canopy bending over like the Prince of Wales' feathers ; and instead of the monastic cord of Gothic architecture, scrolls of snakes distend themselves in graceful convolutions, or twist together in stony knots.

Many of the figures were evidently done from the life. Although intended for Hindu sages and deities, they preserve the Buddhist type, and took as their models Buddhist hermits squatted on the ground in an attitude of abstraction. While Sivaism became the religion of royalty on the plains, Buddhism continued to honeycomb the rocks and build temples on the mountainous western frontier.[123] Strange traditions still haunt these last retreats of Orissa theism ;[124] and their architectural remains testify with a silent evidence which cannot lie, that Buddhism transmitted its devotional art, with its sculptured representations of monastic attitudes, and its system of religious ornamentation, to the Sivaite faith which succeeded it. On the Hill of Curse[125] the traveller comes across the ruins of Buddhist shrines and figures, which might have served as models for the early efforts of Sivaite art.[126] The figures have the mild-eyed, abstracted look which still gazes down on this transitory world from the temple walls of Bhuvaneswar ; and the ornaments on the ears, arms, wrists, and breasts, present the counterparts of those which the Sivaite builders of the Royal City carved upon the shrines of the

122 Hunter refers again to Rajendra Lala Mitra, whose famous work "*Antiquities of Orissa*" was going to be published by that time. In anticipation of this work he thinks it unnecessary to give his own measurements and other art notes made on the spot. He is indebted to him for photographs of Bhuvanesvar.

123 In the Garjat regions.

124 See Hunter's Statistical Account of Cuttack, and also *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxxix.

125 Naltigiri, about 27 miles north-east of Cuttack.

126 Many of the Jain and Buddhist rock-cells were converted into Hindu shrines. Besides the simple mode of transformation practised at Khandagiri by acknowledging a Jain bas-relief as some Hindu deity in the wall of one of the caves, Hunter noticed a very curious composite temple near Naraj, overlooking the Mahanadi, partly of masonry, and partly of the laterite rock, which gave him this impression.

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All-Destroyer. Besides devotional pieces, the older sculptures at Bhuvaneswar represent long processions of infanry, cavalry, and elephants. The warriors form models of manly grace, and the ladies frequently exhibit that exquisite type of face which the Grecian artists have left behind them alike in Eastern and Western India. One little group of a nymph, with an upright chignon, and a hero with a cross-handed dagger in his waistbelt, might serve as a model of Helen and Paris, but that the warrior is of a more robust type than the graceful Trojan archer.

In another frieze, knights on heavily caparisoned horses meet in deadly combat. Bowmen and swordsmen march behind on foot, very much as in Norman tapestry pieces of the Crusadés, while porters and camp-followers, with led horses, straggle after them, and fresh detachments of swordsmen with oblong shields bring up the rear. In the background, courtiers and aged ministers sit in council, while holy men in an attiude of devotion shed the sanction of religion upon the scene. On most of the temples both sexes have their hair done up in a sort of tower above their heads, but some of the ladies have also a braid falling over the bosom to the waist. In the more modern sculptures the hair is brushed back, and either falls in a braid as above, or is arranged in a fillet behind. The horizontal chignon projecting from the back of the head does not come into fashion until the twelfth century. There are scarcely any indelicate sculptures, but a great deal of honest love-making, which generally finds expression by the gods and warriors chucking the goddesses under the chin.

The Kesari, or Lion-line, was essentially a Siva-worshipping dynasty. Temples to the All-Destroyer formed the great public works of the six centuries during which it ruled Orissa. Their founder began the lofty fane at Bhuvaneswar about 500 A.D., two succeeding monarchs laboured on it, and the fourth of the house completed it in A.D. 657.[127] A slab inscription some centuries later recounts how a pious princess reared another 'cloud-reaching temple with four beautiful halls' to the Lord Siva, 'who destroys the sins of the worshippers, and gives salvation to those who touch (his image) in his holy place.[128] Almost the

[127] According to Madalapanji the premier Saiva temple (the Lingaraja) at Bhuvanesvar was constructed by a series of four kings viz. Yajati Kesari, Surya Kesari, Ananta Kesari and Lalatendu Kesari. Epigraphical evidences indicate that Yajati II was succeeded by his son Udyota Kesari who is believed to be the same as Lalatendu Kesari. So Ananta Kesari and Surya Kesari are not known to sober history and the temple seems to have been built within two generations of kings sometimes during the 10th century A.D.

[128] Brahmesvar Inscription, verse 12. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. xiii, p. 63. The name of the queen was Kolavati, mother of Udyota Kesari.

The Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja temples are closely related to each other in artistic and architectural styles, and both of them are, without doubt, the monuments of the same period.

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only event by which the Palm-leaf Record relieves its monotonous list of kings of the ninth century, is the erection of the Siva temple in Puri, the city destined so soon to become the centre of the rival worship.[129] And the last public act of the dynasty was the building of the beautiful vestibule to the great shrine at Bhuvaneswar between 1099 and 1104 A.D., or barely thirty years before the extinction of the race.[130]

The religion of royalty everywhere becomes, sooner or later, a religion of luxury. The sixty-three kings of the Lion-line not only built temples, but endowed them with noble estates, and covered the country with settlements or priests. Siva-worship, although the creed of the dynasty almost from the first, very slowly became the accepted faith of the people. The aboriginal and semi-aboriginal low-castes might be fascinated and appalled by its awe-striking solemnities, but the ruling Aryan race, bred up for centuries in the gentle doctrines of Buddha, required a higher order of attractions. To these latter, therefore, it presented itself not as a brutal and bloody superstition, but as a great catholic religion, wide enough and high enough for the loftiest spiritual flights, and yet glowing with that warmth and colour after which a human soul, chilled by the unrealities of the Buddhistic theism, yearns. To the sage it was the adoration of Mahadeva, the GREAT GOD; of Maheswara, the GREAT LORD; of Bhuvaneswara, the LORD OF THE EARTH; of Brahmeswara, the LORD OF LORDS, or the LORD OF THE FIRST CREATIVE ENERGY.[131] The higher minds among the Sivaite sects asserted the unity of the Deity as strenuously as the Buddhists ever did. For common natures they organized a ritual, splendid, mysterious, and tragic; at one moment enshrouded in the silence and gloom of the innermost sanctuary, at another celebrated amid throngs of frenzied devotees, with thousands of hearts beating together in a unison of religious ecstasy. To the lowest classes it was indeed a religion of blood; but from gentler natures the god accepted a tray of fruits, or a garland of white scented flowers, with an equally propitious eye. It touched every chord of the human imagination from the deep diapason of terror to the ethereal uppermost octaves; and men contrasted its tropical passionateness, and its solemnities which by turns fascinated, appalled, and enchained, with the neutral-tinted doctrines and the barren rites of Buddhism.

But Siva-worship did not depend alone upon its new converts. Among the shadows which flit across the dissolving views

[129] The Markandeswar temple built by Kundal Kesari, 811-829 A.D. (?). *Purushottama Chandrika*, p. 31.

[130] The Nata Mandir, or Dancing Hall, erected by the wife of Salini (?). *Purushottama Chandrika*, p. 34.

[131] It is as Brahmesvara that the inscriptions delight to praise the All-Destroyer. E. D. Brahmesvara Inscription, verses 12, 13. 'This is the very Siva, Brahmesvara.' Elsewhere he is called 'the holy Brahma.'

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of pre-historic India, one fact stands out with unmistakeable clearness. It is the fact that from time to time great migrations of Brahmans radiated to the south-wards from Upper Hindusthan, bringing with them the modern or Hindu form of the Aryan religion, and imposing it upon a recently Buddhistic population. The history of Lower Bengal starts from an immigration of this sort, and the same phenomenon looms through the mists of Orissa tradition, which cloud the origin of the Sivaite line of kings. The local legends and the Palm-leaf records alike relate how about 500 A.D., the founder of the Longhaired or Lion-line imported ten thousand Brahmans from Oudh, and endowed them with lands around Jajpur on the sacred Baitarani river. These new-comers professed the royal religion, and were Sivaites to a man. They found, however, a priestly class already existing, whom it was impossible to extirpate, and unwise to ignore. The Buddhists recruited their clergy from every class of the people; but doubtless the preceding waves of Aryan settlers who had from time to time made their way into Orissa, formed the upper ranks of the Buddhist community. See Asoka's fifth Edict. The Brahman colonists of 500 A.D. were not at first strong enough to degrade the Buddhist element into the mass of the rural populace, and they seem to have conciliated their predecessors by admitting them to a sort of nominal equality. The old Aryan settlers, who had lapsed into Buddhism, obtained the name of Brahmans, and retain the title to this hour. But as the power of the newcomers expanded under the benignant smiles of royalty, they interdicted these so-called old Brahmans from all intercourse with themselves. They had refused the *jus connubii* from the first, and the nominal Brahmans formed a distinct caste, which by degrees sank into the mass of the peasant population. The degraded Brahmans plough with their own hands, and make excellent husbandmen. Several Fiscal Divisions not very far from Jaijur[132] are entirely cultivated by them; but the orthodox caste, who came in about 500 A.D., stigmatize them as the Potato-Growers.[133] Their less opprobrious title is the Worldly Brahmans,[134] as opposed to the Vaidik or Sivaite followers of the Veda. Nothing can be further from our ordinary conception of a Brahman than these half-naked peasants, struggling along under their baskets of yams, and with a filthy little Brahmanical thread over their shoulder.

The example of the new priestly colony at Jajpur seems, however, to have exercised an influence on the Worldly caste. In

[132] *e.g.* Mulgaon, with other Fiscal Divisions of Balasor, and in villages near Jajpur on the banks of the Kharsua. They are also found in the south of Puri District.

[133] Saruya, from Saru, a sort of yam, the Kachu of Bengal (*Arum Colocasia*).

[134] Laukik.

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the Districts around that sacred city, the latter refrain from any occupation but agriculture. But to the southward, in the old Orissa District of Ganjam, they have sunk into brickmakers and bricklayers, two of the servile handicrafts among the Hindus. This District exhibits every variety of the so-called Brahman caste, from the haughty priest who traces his descent within historical times to northern India, down through the Ploughing Brahman[135] into the more degraded trading class,[136] and so finally to the mud-stained labourer who inherits the name of Brahman, but ranks among the dregs of the population.[137] For ages the so-called old Brahmans have been a depressed race in Orissa. In many parts they have perished out of the land ; and throughout the province they certainly number not more than a third of the Brahmans who trace their descent from the Sivaite colony at Jajpur thirteen hundred years ago.

As Bhuvaneswar was the political capital of the Sivaite Dynasty of Orissa, so Jajpur was the metropolis of its priests.[138] The rich delta of the Mahanadi stretched between. The secular capital commanded the turbulent south-eastern frontier, but it lay almost within the shadow of the honeycombed Buddhist hills, and the Sivaite kings planted their Brahman settlement at Jajpur as far as possible from the influence and genius of the preceding faith. They endowed the priestly colonists with ample grants of land, and in less than two hundred years the settlement had grown into a great city. In the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrims found Jajpur the capital of Orissa ;[139] in the sixteenth, the great battle between the Hindus and the Moslems for the supremacy of the Province was fought under its walls. Its ruins attest its ancient grandeur ; to this day it continues a favourite place of pilgrimage ; and its dilapidated temples and colossal images retain an inviolate sanctity in the mind of the devout Hindu. To the annalist it possesses a higher interest as the greatest and best attested settlement of priests from the north, planted by royal authority in order to impose a new dynastic creed upon an Indian population.

Such settlements form landmarks in Indian history. In my

[135] Called Haluya, from Hal, a plough, corresponding to the Saruya Brahman of Orissa Proper.

[136] The Sahu.

[137] The degraded classes of Oriya Brahmans in Ganjam are as follows: —The Haluya, or Ploughing Brahmans, who occasionally serve as cooks in rich families ; the Sahu, or traders ; the Bhadu, or tobacco makers ; the Saruya, or Potato-Growers, brickmakers, bricklayers, etc.

[138] Jajpur was the political capital of Orissa under the Bhauma-kara rulers who ruled from the 8th to the 10th century A.D. But when in the 10th century the Bhauma-kara dynasty was supplanted by the Soma Vamsi line the political capital shifted to Chauduar-kataka.

[139] Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, followed by Cunningham in his work, *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. i. pp. 504-510. 1871.

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previous works[140] I have shown that the fourfold system of caste as formulated by Manu never applied to Bengal. The keenest ethnical scrutiny can detect but two great elements in the Indian population—the Aryan and non-Aryan races. The former came last, and found the country peopled by earlier non-Aryan tribes. The Aryans still constitute the upper ranks of Indian society, and have either driven the latter into the hills and forests, or degraded them into a servile class upon the plains. During the past few years, public opinion has advanced by rapid strides towards this view. It has been accepted as a starting-point both in the speculations of writers and in the practical policy of the Empire, that the English have to legislate in India, not for a single native divided by artificial distinctions of caste, but for a diversity of races belonging to widely separated branches of the human family, requiring very different treatment, and representing distant stages of progress and civilisation. It has also become generally admitted that the wilder of these tribes, who for ages have been sources of danger to, and objects of oppression by, the Indian dynasties, are not incapable of better things. That many of them have approved themselves loyal subjects, brave soldiers, and faithful allies; and that although, in case of border raids, the first duty is to punish them, yet that the permanent problem of our Frontier Administration is to enlighten and to utilize them.

But while the true character of the low castes has thus been established, the Brahmans are still accepted as an ethnical entity. The priestly settlement by the Orissa Sivaite kings in the sixth century, however, forms one of many historical evidences which lead me to doubt this postulate of Indian literature. Taken along with similar phenomena in distant parts of the country, it unfolds the Aryan colonization of India in a new and rational light. It discloses no trace of that universal and absolute conquest by which the primitive Aryan Settlers in Northern Hindustan are assumed to have subdued the whole continent to their sway. On the contrary, it dissipates the mist which has toned down their multiform migrations into a homogeneous advance, and exhibits the natural compromises by which a small but gifted people effected their entrance among vastly more numerous races, sometimes indeed by force of arms, but generally by an amalgamation which the vanity of later ages has more or less disguised.

Almost every Province of India contains two widely diverse sorts of Brahmans, separated not merely by family or social differences, but apparently by the more rigid distinctions of race. The characteristics of these two classes vary in different provinces. But two facts can be almost universally predicated of them, viz., that the higher order traces its origin to a comparatively recent

140 *Annals of Rural Bengal*, vol. i., and the Preliminary Dissertation to *Non-Aryan Dictionary*.

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migration from the north, and deems it necessary to explain the existence of the lower sort by some local legend. They nowhere intermarry, eat together, or have anything in common. Everywhere they form two distinct classes, as widely and as permanently separated as the other recognised ethnical divisions of the Indian community.

I shall now briefly set forth the chief varieties of Brahmans which I have met with, either personally or in books, starting from the Himalayas and travelling southwards till we emerge at Ceylon. I by no means wish to insinuate that all these varieties proceed from differences of race. The safe limits within which such ethnical distinctions may be accepted will be hereafter explained. But meanwhile, as the reader accompanies me from Province to Province, the old idea of the Brahmans as a single priestly race, bound together by a common descent and a common vocation, will, I think, fade from his mind.

On the southern slopes of the Himalayas dwell a caste of Brahman shepherds. They abound in Chamba, near the hill station of Dalhousie, and are distinguished neither by their occupation nor their tribal name[141] from the rest of the shepherd population, in common with whom they possess most curious grazing rights. It is a fierce, stalwart race, very fair, and their women are singularly handsome. They build their houses with the door to the east, and, like their fellow-herdsmen, worship, as the first thing every morning, the rising sun. Proceeding southward into the arable Kangra valleys, the shepherds give place to cultivating or ploughing Brahmans[142] following the Hindu rites, but despised by the Brahmans who in later times have flocked to the courts of the petty chiefs from the plains. The latter explain the existence of the former by declaring them the lapsed remnants of earlier migrations, and all are nominally admitted within the great Saraswat family of Brahmans. But the ploughing caste has no place in the local Brahman genealogies, although these documents carefully preserve the memorials of the successive Brahmanical waves that have arrived within historic times.[143] In the Simla hills the Brahman population consists indiscriminately of shepherds, husbandmen, day-labourers, and menials. The poorer of them are simply coolies. In the inner hills they marry the widows of their elder brothers, like the

[141] Ga*d*is, from Ga*d*ariya, a rural Hindi word for a shepherd, from Ga*d*ar, a ewe.

[142] Called zamindars or landholders. See *Settlement Report of the District of Kangra*, by George Carnac Barnes, folio, Lahor, 1855, paras. 252-260. Hunter here makes acknowledgments to E. C. Bayley, for an interesting letter about the Himalayan Brahmans, and for other aid.

[143] Cf. the classification by Raja Dharm Chand, who divided the orthodox Brahmans into Nagarkotiyas, from Nagarkot, the ancient name of Kangra; and Baterus, with its thirty five subdivisions and various grades of rank.

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lower castes of Orissa, and sell their daughters into a slavery faintly disguised by the name of concubinage. Several of the porters who have from time to time brought up my luggage from the plains bore the title of Brahman, and wore the sacred thread. At this moment, one of my under-servants, a 'mate-bearer,' is a Simla Brahman, whose immediate superior (an Orissa man of the cow-keeping class) would rather be cast adrift two thousand miles from his home, than touch the work which his Brahman subordinate does, unconscious of a scruple.

In the Himalayas, therefore, the Brahmans are of three sorts. One class has amalgamated with the surrounding population as to trade or employment, such as the shepherd and menial Brahmans of the inner hills. The second sort holds an intermediate position, like the ploughing Brahmans of the Kangra valley. The third consists of comparatively recent emigrants from the plains, the temporal advisers and spiritual directors of the highland aristocracy. The public ministration at the temples has always continued in the hands of the original natives of the country. The celebrated shrines of Kangra have a hereditary priesthood,[144] who wear the sacred thread, but form a distinct caste. As a rule, the highland and lowland Brahmans have an intense contempt for each other. They cannot eat together, nor intermarry; and the hill Brahman freely partakes of flesh, which the lowland Brahman of Northern India religiously eschews. In short, the true hill Brahmans either descend from ancient Brahman emigrants from the plains, who have had to submit to various degrees of compromise, and to mix with the surrounding population; or they form the remnants of the primitive aristocracy of the highlands whom the newcomers had to admit into a nominal equality. They derive their origin chiefly from the first, but probably from both sources, as Leitner's and other recent researches show.

Proceeding to the plains, the Pattiala Brahmans engage as day-labourers, and one of their caste has carried me many a mile in a hill palanquin. Advancing south-east to the great tract between the Jamna and the Ganges, I find a population of Brahman husbandmen whose existence is explained by a legend of their having abandoned the priestly function for agriculture.[145]

[144] Bhujkis. Some of the Hill Brahmans trace their migrations to the tyranny of the Musalmans, and the orthodox Aurangzeb is remembered among them with peculiar hatred.

[145] The Tagas, a word which the orthodox Brahmans who invented the legend derive from Tyaga, *given up*—a derivation which the quantity of the first syllable renders improbable. Sir Henry Elliot gives another explanation of their having been abandoned by their relations in consequence of their being the offspring of a Brahman with a low-caste woman. The same objection, however, applies. Sir Henry Elliot's *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. i. pp. 88, 303, etc., ed. 1869. See also an interesting letter in the *Pioneer*, Allahabad, 1st June 1871.

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In Bijnaur they number a full third of the whole Brahman population; but are separated from them by an even greater distance than the inferior castes of the Aryan community. They permit the re-marriage of widows,[146] and possess a distinct caste system of their own. Proceeding a little southward we obtain an explanation of their existence more intelligible than the 'abandonment' theory, evolved from a false etymology of their name. In Jaipur a similar class of ploughing Brahmans abounded, and a tradition relates how they were manufactured out of the low castes by the ruling power. A warlike prince required a vast concourse of priests to give dignity to his sacrifice, and accordingly created five tribes[147] of Brahmans out of the surrounding population. They migrated in numbers to Oudh, in which centre of orthodoxy, however, they did not obtain admittance into the recognised Brahman caste.[148] Indeed, the Province of Oudh had already a similar local tradition of its own. One of its Brahmanical families[149] derives its origin from a prince[150] whose self-importance would not allow him to offer sacrifice without having 125,000 priests in attendance, and who accordingly invested the common people of the country with sacred thread.[151] Another class of the Oudh Brahmans is said to have been arbitrarily created in pre-historic times by Krishna, while a third has practically amalgamated with the military caste.[152] In the very centre of Brahmanism, therefore, the Brahmans are a composite people, following diverse occupations, and derived from widely different sources. Even Brahman arrogance has not been able to conceal this fact in the sacred writings of the Hindus, and the most famous episode of the Mahabharata relates how a warrior prince won his way into the priestly caste.[153]

Once we pass beyond the Aryan centre, in Upper India, the complex character of the Brahmans becomes more and more proclaimed. In Benares, and the districts along the Ganges to the southward, a large peasant population claim the title of Brahman, and under native rule were exempted like the genuine Brahmans from capital punishment.[154] The priests account for

[146] Among the Dusa section of the tribe.

[147] (1)Daima, (2) Parakh, (3) Gujjar Gaur, (4) Paliwal and (5) Chaurasi.

[148] Patrick Carnegy's *Notes on the Races of Avadh.* Lucknow, 1868, p. 30.

[149] The Sawalakhi; literally, *lakh and a quarter.*

[150] Raja Ram Baghel. The manufacture is also assigned to Manik Chand, or even the great Ram Chandra himself.

[151] Sir Henry Elliot's *Races of the North-Western Provinces,* i. 148. Beames' edition.

[152] Carnegy's *Notes on Avadh,* p. 30.

[153] Cf. the story of Viswamitra and Vasistha.

[154] The Bhuinhars; literally, *landholders.* Hunter here makes acknowledgment to the *Memoir of Ghazipur District,* by Wilton Oldham, Quarto, Allahabad Government Press, 1870.

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their existence by declaring them to be the lapsed descendants of an earlier Brahman migration. But some of them have the same tribe name in common with the military caste, and in one case at least the peasant Brahman of this District and the military class claim descent from a common ancestor. All of them freely enlist in the army, and on so doing add the war-caste affix of *Sinh,* Lion, to their names. Some of them trace their arrival to migrations from the north within historical times, but they have not developed those minute caste differences among themselves which exist among the peasant Brahmans of Oudh. They make excellent husbandmen, accumulate money by usury, and are a more frugal and less haughty class than the Rajputs or military caste.[155]

Proceeding down the Ganges into Behar, we still find a large populaion of peasant Brahmans. Here, however, they less resemble the military caste than the ordinary husbandmen. They bear the same name as the ploughing Brahmans of the north,[156] and are said to number three-fourths of the whole Brahman population in the Bhagalpur District. The higher classes among them trace their descent to an ancient migration of the true stock from the north,[157] but the mass of the peasant Brahmans attribute their origin to another arbitrary manufacture of a hundred thousand priests in ancient times.

Such a legend is opposed to the more superstitious genius of Orissa and of Lower Bengal, the last conquest of the Brahmans, and the country in which their influence is now most absolute. The unwarlike populace of the delta admits with equal facility the temporal supremacy and the divine origin of the priesthood. A class of peasant Brahmans would disgrace the whole order, and history indistinctly records the process by which this scandal was avoided. On the decline of Buddhism in Lower Bengal in the nineth century A.D., a religious revival similar to that which I have described in Orissa took place. A line of orthodox kings[158] succeeded the Buddhist dynasty,[159] and the founder of the new line invited a migration of Brahmans from the north in

[155] Many of them turned Musalmans under Aurangzeb. The descendants of the renegades now number more than fourteen thousand, and form a heroic class who fought bravely during the mutiny.

[156] Bhuinhars, or more locally Zamindar Babhans.

[157] The Mithila Brahmans, who, although formally admitted into the Brahman community, hold a very low place in it, and are probably either the remains of a very ancient Aryan migration into Tirhut, or of the primitive aristocracy of the place, who by an ethnical syncretism obtained entrance into the Brahman caste.

[158] The Vaidyas, perhaps more correctly a Kshattriya line, as they appear to have been connected with the Oudh prince Vir Simha.

[159] The Palas.

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the tenth century,[160] almost precisely as the Orissa kings had done in the sixth. In both Provinces the same difficulty arose as to the status which the former priestly classes should thenceforth hold. We have seen how the question gradually settled itself in Orissa, leaving as its result the ecclesiastical metropolis at Jajpur, and the Potato-Growing Brahmans, who have sunk into the peasant population. In Bengal the great monarch[161] of the eleventh century put forth his authority to prevent or to obliterate so unseemly a result. He accepted as the basis of his classification the orthodox number five and its multiple,—a number to which I shall hereafter refer. The pious king of the tenth century had brought down *five* Brahmans[162] from Oudh, and his successor in the eleventh divided the country for Brahmanical purposes into *five* regions,[163] which gave the sept names[164] to the priests inhabiting them. He found the descendants of the emigrants distributed into fifty-six rural communes scattered over the kingdom,—a fact which discloses if not an invasion, at least a wholesale migration from the north. These he arranged into fifty-six distinct septs, each of them called after the name of the locality in which it had settled.[165]

But the utmost efforts of royal authoriy failed to obliterate the internal distinctions of race and caste which separted the Brahmans of Bengal as elsewhere. Even the above comprehensive classificaion left out a large population who enforced their title to Brahmanhood, but who did not live within the fifty-six Brahman settlements. The number thus excluded is variously stated, the lowest estimate being seven hundred families; to which other genealogists add the Vaidik, or old Brahmans, and the Mithilas, or the priestly caste of Tirhut. The truth is, that the Bengal classification only included the Brahmans living within the fifty-six royal settlements. These bear the title of the *village* Brahmans[166] to the present day, while the other families who enforced their title to Brahmanhood still retain the name of the Outsiders.[167] But the distinctions and discrepancies do not

[160] According to the Brahman chronologers, in 914 Sakabda, or 991 A.D. The name of the pious monarch was Adisur. Another tradition speaks of a second importation of five Brahmans in 1069 A.D.

[161] King Ballal Sen.

[162] (1) Sriharsha (Delight); (2) Bedgarbha (the Container of the Veda); (3) Chhandar (*i.e.* Chhanda-Veda, Learned in the Veda); (4) Daksha (Skilful, also the name of the first father-in-law of Siva); and (5) Bhattanarayan (The Learned Narayan).

[163] Varendra, Rarhi, Banga, Bagri, and Mithila.

[164] Srenis.

[165] Of the fifty-six septs, 8 rank as Mukhya Kulins, or Kulins of the first class; 14 as Gauna Kulins, or Kulins of the Second class; and 34 as Srotriyas, or Non-Kulins.

[166] Gains *i.e.* belonging to a village.

[167] Nangains, including the Vaidiks, the Nansis or Saptasatis, the Mithilas, Bagris, Pitaris, Jabaris, Barans and Agradanis.

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cease here. For among the Outsiders certain tribes[168] enjoy a sanctity superior even to that of the highest of the fifty-six included castes, and keep themselves even more strictly to spiritual functions; while others, such as those of the Seven Hundred[169] clans, admit their inferiority to the lowest of the included septs.[170] In short, in Bengal as elsewhere, the attempt to represent the Brahmans as a homogeneous entity has failed.

Passing to Orissa, we find the Brahmans still more widely separated from each other by occupation, and probably by race. I have already given the legendary origin of the two classes, and described the degraded state of the peasant Brahmans, or Potato-Growers. The same phenomenon present itself in the mountainous tracts towards Central India. The Aryan colonization of these inner regions dates from a comparatively recent period. From time to time, the Brahmans of Orissa have sent forth colonies into the western hill country, where they found employment in the courts of the petty princes. Their descendants assert high pretensions to sanctity, but they are in reality a lazy, improvident class, who live chiefly by begging, and who are inferior in all essentials to the so-called Jungle Brahmans,[171] whom they found already in the country, and whom they had to admit to nominal Brahmanhood. These Jungle Brahmans form one of the most respectable of the cultivating castes. Frugal, hard-working, and intelligent, they till their hereditary acres or engage in trade. Their origin loses itself in antiquity; but they represent the remnants either of a pre-historic Aryan migration, or of the aboriginal rural aristocracy, whose real history the new Brahmans have tried to disguise. Here as elsewhere, no connection, either domestic or social, exists between the two divisions of the so-called Brahman caste.

Hitherto I have dealt with the Brahmans of Northern India, who are popularly supposed to be divided into *five* great families,[172] claiming a common origin, and forming a homogeneous and hereditary priesthood. I have shown that in the very Provinces specially indentified with each of the five members, there exists not one, but at least two, sorts of Brahmans, separated from each other by occupation, by absence of the *jus connubii*, and in some cases at least by race. In my survey

[168] The Vaidiks, divided into Dakshinatyas or ancient Vaidiks, who dwelt in Bengal before Adisur's importation, and Paschatyas or recent arrivals.

[169] The Saptasatis.

[170] *i.e.* to the thirty-four Srotriyas, or Non-Kulin septs of the fifty-six included tribes.

[171] The Jharwar (Jharua) Brahmans.

[172] They assert a common origin from the Gaur race of Brahmans; and their five branches are: (1) the Gaur proper, (2) the Kanauj, (3) the Saraswat, (4) the Mithila or Maithil and (5) the Orissa or Utkal.

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I have not referred to accidental degradations arising from breach of caste rules, or from taking service with the lower ranks of the Hindus. In Southern India, where the Aryan colonists were fewer and more scattered, the co-existence of at least two widely separated classes of Brahmans stands out in even greater distinctness. Here also the Brahmans pretend to a common origin, divided as in the north into *five* septs.[173] But we shall see that outside of these recognised families a vast population exists who claim the name of Brahmans, but who cannot be identified with the true caste, and whose existence has to be accounted for by extravagant local fables.

Many of the Brahman migrations into Southern India belong to distinctly historical times. A legend of the districts to the south of Orissa relates how, in the fifteenth century, a great colony of priests, driven downwards by a famine in the north, settled on the Crown lands.[174] But they soon found themselves mingled with a mixed mass, who asserted a title to Brahmanhood. They accordingly drew up a scheme of classification, which survived till the beginning of the present century. Unlike the similar arbitrary classifications of other Provinces, it assigns the highest rank to the first arrivals; and the successive migrations, insead of degrading their predecessors, had themselves to accept a lower rank. The explanation probably is, that the original or Buddhist Brahmans here mustered in such strength as to resist the pretensions which the more recent emigrants from the north have in most other Provinces been able to enforce. But while one section of them asserted the priestly dignity, another part of the so-called Brahmans followed the degraded calling of hereditary village police.[175]

In the Krishna Valley, a little farther south, tradition assigns the settlement of the higher sort of Brahmans to an invitation by an aboriginal and probably a Buddhistic, prince[176] of the third century A.D. The legend closely corresponds with the Brâhman colonization of Orissa by the Sivaite dynasty, upon the decline of Buddhism, at the end of the fifth. The Brahmans of the

[173] The Dravida family, divided into (1) Dravida, (2) Karnati, (3) Telinga, (4) Gujrati and (5) Maharashtra or Marhatta.

[174] In the reign of Pratap Rudra, King of Warangul, whose reign varies from 1323 to 1476 A.D. It is not necessary for the present purposes to settle the precise date. The legends of the upper Godavari District place him in the fourteenth century; the Vijayanagaram chronicles prefer the fifteenth. In edited MS. folios of the Mackenzie Papers in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, vol. vi. pp. 73-100, vol. x. pp. 35-68, and vol. xv. pp. 325-329. For the earlier date, see the Central Provinces' Gazetteer, p. 499. Nagpur, 1870.

[175] Mackenzie MS., vol. x. pp. 35-38.

[176] Munkunti Pahlava, King of Dharanikota. Other migrations, at the beginning of the present era, have also left their indistinct traces in the local traditions of the Krishna Delta.

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western side of the Peninsula aspire to a more venerable antiquity. In bygone ages, says the Malabar legend, the sea washed the foot of the mountains which now lie ten to twenty miles inland, and the hillmen fished from their slopes. In those days, the great Parasurama[177] dwelt near Goa, but the shame of his mother's misdeeds made him leave the place. Inspired by a divine impulse, he seized a rice winnow, and hurled it from the mountains southwards across the sea, as far as Cape Comorin. Forthwith the tract of ocean over which the winnow had passed dried up into the long level strip of country now called Malabar.[178]

Here he sought a retreat. The fishermen soon flocked down from the mountains, however, and settled around his asylum. But amid these low castes no Brahman could be found ; so the sage took their nets, and tore them into shreds, which he twisted together into the sacred thread, and tying it round their shoulders, made the whole population of fishermen into Brahmans. In process of time, colonies of the true caste came down from the north, and the aboriginal Brahmans of Malabar sunk into a despised class.[179] They follow different customs from the orthodox caste, and hold that only the eldest male of the family should marry—a deprivation for which the younger brothers make amends, by connections with women of the Nair, or aboriginal military caste of Southern India.[180] Unlike the pure Brahmans, they do not restrict the age within which they consider marriage proper, although, when a girl has passed the age of puberty, the bridegroom expects a large dowry. They practise polygamy to an extent unknown among the ordinary Brahmans, seven wives being the legal limit. In appearance and dress they resemble the Nairs, and as might be expected, chastity is not one of the virtues of a community which narrows the privilege of marriage to the eldest of the family. Indeed, their whole ideas about marriage closely resemble those of the aboriginal Nairs, with the exception that the head of the family enters into the permanent obligations of matrimony. The other males retain the temporary and promiscuous polyandry with the Nair women, characteristic of the aboriginal castes of that part of India. These peculiar customs, independently of the local legend, would mark an origin

177 The Brahman incarnation of Vishnu.

178 For the rice-winnow another legend substitutes Parasurama's battle-axe ; and the hero's weapon still figures on the ancient copper coinage of the West Coast of India.

179 *Letters from Malabar*, by the Dutch Chaplain, Jacob Canter Visscher, in 1743, pp. 9, 10. Madras, 1862. Cf. Day's *Land of the Permauls*, p. 306. Madras, 1862.

180 Pharoah's *Southern India*, p. 506. Madras, 1855. These Brahmans bear the name of Namburis, and are separated from the others by a great gulf of mutual contempt. Also Day's *Permauls*, p. 303, etc.

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distinct from the ordinary Brahmans; and their system of concubinage is perhaps the remnant of the free connection of the tribes in ancient times, before one section of them had attained to Brahmanhood, and its caste rules had hardened and set. As with some of the aboriginal races, the succession to property, among certain of their families, goes through the female line to the nephews.[181] In spite of their descent from the low-caste fisher-tribes, and of their semi-aboriginal customs, they now claim for themselves a high rank, and in their turn despise the more recent emigrants from the north, although the very name of the latter[182] records their claim to superior dignity. A very intelligent observer[183] in the first half of the last century, however, states that the Malabar Brahmans at that time were despised as the offspring of the low fisher-tribes. Even at the present day, I believe they do not deny the natural superiority of the foreign Brahmans, but say that the newcomers lost purity by staining their hands with the blood of a tyrant prince.[184] Besides these two classes, there is a third which wears the sacred thread, and claims the title of Brahman, but who cannot eat or intermarry with them, and 'who might be supposed to be of the military caste, but that they are not permitted to bear arms.'[185] Among the Kankani Brahmans, the legend of their origin survives so distinctly, that the catching of a fish forms part of their wedding ceremonial, along with the casting of a net.[186]

Proceeding inland, the same distinction of Worldly and Vaidik Brahmans exists in Velor as in Orissa. They do not intermarry, and the difference between them seems to proceed from a more fundamental source than that which separates the pure caste from the section which has lapsed by breaches of caste rules. Sometimes, indeed, an indigent Vaidik gives his daughter to Worldly Brahman, but in doing so he loses his own purity. In no sense are they the priests of the Hindu community. A few fallen families officiate in the temples of Vishnu and Siva, but by doing so they lose all claim to connubial or social intercourse with the pure caste; and no Brahman, however degraded,

181 Hunter here depends upon Pharoah, who cites certain families in Pagnur, p. 507.

182 The Patras, from the Sanskrit patra, *excellent, accomplished.*

183 The Dutch Pastor Visscher above cited. Of course, on their elevation to Brahmanhood, they abandoned their old calling as fishermen.

184 Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. ii. p. 106, etc. As Hunter never visited Malabar, the above remarks are derived from local works, not personal observation.

185 The Iliyadars and Masids. Pharoah's *Southern India*, p. 508.

186 Hunter admits his indebtedness to conversations with Francis Day, who was five years at Cochin, for this and several other facts. The Kankani Brahmans deny these ceremonies to strangers. To this day the Sudra Rajas of Travancore are made into Brahmans on their accession by passing through the belly of a golden cow. Day's *Permauls*, p. 314.

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will minister in the popular temples of the local gods, whose altars are stained with blood. At the time of Tipu Sultan, the Worldly caste monopolized the petty offices of the rural revenue, as on the other side of India they formed the village police.

Communities of peasant Brahmans[187] dot the Province of Mysore, and live equally apart from the lower and the upper castes. They form the entire population in several tracts, and seem to be the remnants of an old rural aristocracy. Until the time of Tipu Sultan they monopolized the irrigated lands, leaving the fields which could command no water-supply to a lower caste of husbandmen. Under the Hindu rule, they paid only the same proportion of rent for their wet lands as the inferior peasants did for the arid fields; but Tipu ignored their privileges, and under his strict administration of the land revenue, numbers of them deserted their holdings. The more pure, or at least more recent Brahmans, here as elsewhere, disdain to touch the plough, and their settlements seem to have been founded on conquest, as they reduced a large body of the people to prædial slavery. The serfs[188] who cultivated their lands formed the most hardy and laborious part of the rural community; and so sensible was Haidar Ali of their value, that in his incursions it was the Brahmans' slaves whom he chiefly tried to carry away, in order to form peasant settlements in his own country. In the Kolar District, also, a class of cultivating Brahmans is found.[189]

Proceeding southwards to Madura, the position of the Brahmans becomes still more complicated. Indeed, the existence of any true Brahman caste here is doubted. The Chola Brahmans, who claim to be the oldest in the District, do not disguise their mixed descent; and the whole of the native Brahmans of the Province admittedly spring from connections and compromises, such as the pure caste in Northern India would contemplate with abhorrence. Even the better sort of them, although claiming to belong to one of the five great southern branches, cannot specify the particular one from which they descend.[190] Distinct traditions relate how they came into the country at various periods, and one legend[191] closely corresponds to the Orissa story of the King importing a body of priests from the north, in order to introduce Siva-worship. The truth is, that the farther south we go, the more completely does our preconceived conception of the

[187] Called Haigas, numerous in Haiga itself, and in the hill villages of Sunda. Near Kutaki, the inhabitants are all Haigas. Buchanan's *Journey* in 1800 and 1801, vol. ii. 292, 345, 350, 394. Madras, 1870.

[188] The Pancham Bandam, consisting of the Pariar, the Baluan, the Shaekliar, and the Toti. Buchanan's *Journey*, 1800, vol. i. p. 13. Madras, 1870.

[189] *Report on Kolar District*, para. 61. Bangalore Jail Press, 1869.

[190] *The Madura Country*, by J. H. Nelson, part ii. p. 23. Madras, 1868.

[191] *Idem.* Part iii. p. 48.

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Brahman caste diverge from the actual facts. In Madura, even the blacksmiths aspire to the dignity of Brahmanhood. They form one of the undoubted Sudra, or aboriginal castes, in the more perfectly Brahmanized parts of India ; but in common with four other[192] of the principal crafts in the south of the Peninsula, they wear the sacred thread, and refuse precedence to the admitted Brahmans. The Brahmanical element here finds itself so weak, and so accustomed to compromises with the original population, that the priests have invented a legend, to give a semi-Aryan descent to five castes, which everywhere else rank as Sudras.[193] A local proverb[194] bears witness to a constant series of such compromises, by which the aboriginal tribes forced a recognition from the Brahman settlers, and obtained entrance into the higher castes.

Crossing over to Ceylon, the process of manufacturing Brahmans out of the non-Brahman population presents itself without disguise. An ancient King of Madura invited into his dominions an aboriginal tribe of 48,000 men from the north. Their descendants rank high, but adhere to the rustic husbandry of a simple race. They now refrain, however, as much as possible, from actually holding the plough, which in ancient times was their special occupation.[195] This hereditary peasant-caste enjoy the title of the 'Cultivating Brahmans' in Ceylon ;[196] although here they still preserve their ancient occupation, and their title of Brahman has never hardened into a caste name.

Whence come these diversities in the Brahman caste? In every province of India our search has disclosed the supposed hereditary priesthood, to be not an ethnical entity bound together by a common vocation or a common descent, but a composite people whose elements in some cases assert a separate origin, and everywhere stand apart from each other by difference of occupation, by the prohibition to intermarry, and by deep-rooted

[192] The five castes are called the Panchala, or Kamallans, and consist of (1) goldsmiths, (2) silversmiths, (3) carpenters, (4) blacksmiths and (5) stone-cutters.

[193] They say that they are descended from a Brahman father by a Sethi woman. Nelson's *Madura*, Part ii. pp. 6 and 70.

[194] 'The Kallan (or lowest aboriginal race) became an Ahambadiyan (one step up); the Ahambadiyan became a Maravan (another step); the Maravan became a Vellalan ;' and as we shall see in the next paragraph, the Vellalan has obtained the title of Brahman in Ceylon.

[195] The Sathaga of Narayan describes their duties as follows: 'The Vellalans, by the effects of their ploughing (or cultivation), maintain the prayers of the Brahmans, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all. Charity donations, connubial happiness, the Vedas and all other books, truth, reputation, the very being of the gods, come to pass by the efficacy of the Vellalan's plough.' Abridged from Taylor's work on the Oriental MSS., quoted in Nelson's *Madura*, Part ii. p. 31.

[196] Goi Bamano. Upham's *Mahavansi*, quoted in Nelson's *Madura*, Part ii. p. 36.

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contempt. The higher Brahmans account for the phenomenon by saying that the lower sort has lost caste from touching the plough; and when forced to admit the inadequacy of this explanation, they fall back upon the superior purity of the later migrations from the north as compared with the first settlers. The Veda exhibits to us a very primitive race praying to the gods for the safety of its flocks and crops—a people of shepherds and husbandmen. In the Epics the husbandmen and herdsmen among the Twice-Born Tribes already appear as somewhat lapsed classes (Mahabh. Moksha-dharmma, sl. v.). Manu goes further and denounces agriculture as absolutely degrading (iii. 165 ; iv. 5 ; Calcutta Ed.). But the caste-system, as represented by Manu, was developed long after the first movements of the Aryan race towards Southern India, and never spread in its entirety beyond Northern Hindusthan. The earlier emigrants southward knew nothing of its restrictions, and freely followed their ancient occupations long after those callings had been discarded in the headquarters of their race, just as words and idioms obsolete for a full century in England continue current in Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The later Aryan adventurers who hived southwards after the caste-system had hardened and set in Hindusthan, found India covered with settlements of common origin with themselves, but following occupations and professing beliefs which they had come to regard with abhorrence. They admitted them to the bare name of Brahmans, *i.e.* Aryans, but in general denied them all intercourse. Not invariably, however; for when the newcomers arrived in small bodies, they could not enforce their superior pretensions, and the previous settlers who outnumbered them compelled them to accept a lower rank.[197]

This, however, forms but a part of the explanation. The later migrations of Brahmans or Aryans from the north not only brought with them a more rigid caste-system, but also a new faith. Between the religion of the Indian Epics and modern Hinduism, stretches the wide intermediate tract of the Buddhistic period—a period varying in different parts of India from two hundred to twelve hundred years. The downfall of Buddhism in many provinces took place amid a great revival of the Brahmanical creed, and such revivals were generally brought about or sustained by a migration of Brahmans from the north. In Bengal a migration of this sort shines through the mists of ten centuries, as the one great event contemporary with the foundation of an orthodox line of kings, and the introduction of modern Hinduism upon the ruins of the Pala Dynasty and their Buddhist faith. The Orissa legends preserve the details of a similar settlement of Brahmans from the north in 500 A.D., on he expulsion of the Buddhist Yavanas and the establishment of the Sivaite form of Hinduism.

[197] Cf. the Settlements under King Pratap Rudra, King of Warangul.

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The traditions of the Krishna valley point to a corresponding migration; and in the extreme point of the Peninsula, a Madura monarch inroduced new rites by means of a priestly colony from the north, exactly as the Vaidya Dynasty did in Bengal and the Lion-line did in Orissa. How far such royal invitations disguise invasions, I need not here pause to inquire. They disclose the fact of Buddhism being extinguished amid great southward movements of the northern Aryans, and the newcomers would naturally strive to degrade the Buddhist clergy and upper classes whom they superseded. They could not deny their claims to kindred race, and in many cases the weakness of the modern emigrants compelled them to compromises with their predecessors. But such concessions usually amounted to equality in name alone. As the spread of Buddhism stands out in a close, although not always a constant, relation to the advance of the Yavanas, so the establishment of the modern Hindu religion belongs to a period of diffusive activity radiating from the Brahmanical centre in Hindusthan.

But in some Provinces the internal differences between the Brahmans lie deeper than this, and rest upon an ethnical basis. From remote antiquity two great tribes of the Indo-Aryans appear in bold contradistinction to each other, the Kshattriyas and the Brahmans. The latter in the end obtained the supremacy, and their superior culture made them the sole chroniclers of the strife. But even their partial legends describe twenty-one great struggles, each closing with the alleged extirpation of the Kshattriyas, but the next one always opening with them as rampant as ever. The contest brought down Vishnu himself upon the scene, and his Brahman incarnation[198] was devoted to sweeping the Kshattriyas from the face of the earth. In spite of their celestial allies, however, the Brahman legends faintly disguise the fact that in some cases at least they had to make terms with the rival tribe, as in the Viswamitra episode in the Mahabharata, already alluded to. It seems in accordance with the facts of universal history, that in this long struggle the Brahmans should seek alliance with the aboriginal tribes, and that such alliances should in some cases end in an amalgamation more or less complete of the two races. Accordingly we find the Brahman incarnation of Vishnu manufacturing a whole population of Brahmans out of the fisher tribes of Malabar; and the story which crops up in so many Provinces, of the low castes being made into Brahmans in order to attend a royal sacrifice, probably veils an ethnical syncretism of the same sort. At Jaipur it is five septs of Brahmans that were thus manufactured; in Bhagalpur, 100,000 families; in Oudh, 125,000; and generally, although not always, some incarnation of Vishnu in quite pre-historic times appears on the scene to perform the

[198] His sixth, as Parasurama.

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operation. The Aryan Brahmans extended the use of their name very much more sparingly than the Romans to their subjects or allies. The aboriginal or low castes thus adopted into the Brahman population never attained more than a nominal equality; nowhere do they eat together or intermarry with the higher class; in many places they have sunk to the level of the labouring populace; and even in Malabar, where they assert lofty claims, the Brahman settlers from Upper India despise their non-Aryan origin, and ridicule their pretensions.

In some Provinces the lower Brahmans appear to be the remnants of the old rural aristocracy, whom the Aryan emigrants found settled in the land, and whom they were compelled to adopt into the ruling class. In the remote valleys of the Himalayas, and down the rich tracts of the Ganges, the name of these old Brahmans (the 'Soilholders')[199] declares their immemorial connection with the land, and the southernmost District of India discloses an ethnical syncretism of the same sort in an unfinished state. The Vellalans of Madura trace their descent to an aboriginal tribe within historical times, and a local proverb already cited records their advance in the scale of castes. They very nearly, but not quite, attained the rank of Peasant Brahmans on the mainland, and a colony which they threw out to Ceylon bears the title of 'Cultivating Brahmans' in that island. This honorific has not yet hardened into a caste name; but, taken along with the previous history of the race, it exhibits in an inchoate stage the process by which the aboriginal tribes may have attained to Peasant Brahmanhood.

I trust that other local observers may begin where I have left off... My existing materials do not allow me to venture upon any comprehensive theory, although I think that these pages, reveal for the first time the truth about the spread of the Aryans or Brahmans through India. It suffices for the present, that the facts now brought together demolish the old idea of the Brahmans as an exclusive priesthood, claiming a common origin, and adhering through thousands of years to their sacred functions. They exhibit the Brahmans as plastic as the rest of mankind, changing with the altered beliefs and necessities of the Indian world, amenable to social, perhaps to ethnical compromises, and destitute of those august prescriptive rights which so long stood in the way of legislation and reform. We have seen that in several Provinces they are emphatically *not* the pristhood of the people, and that so far from being an ethnical entity following an immemorial vocation, they contain within their caste every trade and calling. We have seen the Brahmans as shepherds, as ploughers of the soil, as potato-growers; as brickmakers, bricklayers, and petty traders; as carpenters, stone-cutters, blacksmiths,

[199] Bhuinhars, or Zamindars.

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and village policemen, who in India rank very low in the social scale; as the descendants of the aboriginal fisher tribes; as arbitrarily manufactured out of the promiscuous low castes; as day-labourers and as menial servants.

The priestly settlement at Jajpur has left memorials not unworthy of the ecclesiastical capital of Orissa. During two days I wandered among the ruins of the Sivaite faith, amid dilapidated temples, time-worn flights of river stairs, statues ignominiously cast upon their faces, noseless gods, and jungle-buried monoliths. Whatever Moslem bigotry could destroy has perished; and the grave of an Afghan iconoclast, quarried out of Hindu shrines, now forms the most conspicuous monument in the metropolis of the Sivaite priests. The Muhammadans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stabled their horses in the Hindu palaces, and tore down the great temples stone by stone, to build royal residences for their own chiefs. At first the Orissa deities, who became the demons of the Musalmans, as the gods of Greece and Rome furnished devils to primitive Christendom, resisted by signs and portents. But there came a saint[200] in the Afghan army, whose detestation of the infidel had transported him from Central Asia to the Bay of Bengal, and whose piety (or persecution) cowed the evil spirits of the bygone creed into silence. He threw down the colossal statues of the Hindu gods, and for nearly three centuries they have lain prostrate under his mystical spells. The great high place of Sivaism resounded with the Friday prayers and the daily readings of the Kuran; and a curious document, dated 210 years ago, still enjoins the Jajpur authorities to pay the charge for lamps to the Moslem family in charge of the public ministration of Islam. Towards the end of that century a noble mosque rose out of the inexhaustible quarries which the ancient temples supplied.[201] But it was reserved for the English to put the finishing-stroke of ruin to the royal and sacred edifices of Jajpur. The Magistrate recently regretted that our Public Works officers had torn down the last remnants of the ancient palace, and built bridges along the trunk road with the stones.

But even the iconoclast fury of Islam, and the vandalism of the English Public Works Department, have failed to obliterate the artistic magnificence of the Lion-line. A well-proportioned column, similar to the Sun Pillar, of which an engraving will be found elsewhere, rises above the jungle, and bears traces of the impotent fury of the Mahammadan troops. The Afghans tried to drag it down by chains and teams of elephants, but the barbarian conquerors of the sixteenth century found themselves unable to destroy the graceful Hindu creation of the tenth. They

[200] Ali Bukhar, or Bukhari Sahib, a fanatical follower of Kalapahar in the sixteenth century.

[201] Built by Nawab Abu Nasir, in the reign of Aurangzeb, 1681 A.D.

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managed, however, to pull down the Sacred Vulture[202] which crowned its Capital, and the exquisite shaft lifts its dishonoured head in witness against a creed which sought the glory of God in the destruction of the fairest works of man.[203]

The bigotry of Islam defeated itself. The most important monuments at Jajpur owe their preservation to their having been thus thrown on their faces, and kept immoveable on the ground by the spells of the warlike saint. Three colossal statues lay prone for more than two centuries; and when, in 1866, a spirited young Magistrate determined to raise them, the populace warned him that the sacrilege would make the holy man uneasy in his tomb. 'Notwithstanding this objection,' runs the official report with inflexible humour, 'the figures have been raised and placed on the river bank, in that piece of ground where most of the public buildings stand.'[204] They consist each of one enormous block of chlorite, towering, even in their sitting posture, far above the heads of puny mortals, and represent the Queen of Heaven,[205] the Earth Goddess who took on herself a mortal form[206] to become the wife of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, and the Goddess of Destruction,[207] the tutelary genius of the place. These colossal monoliths must have been dragged across the river-intersected delta from the mountains of the Tributary States a hundred miles off, and their hard blue stone still bears witness to the fine chisellings of early Hindu art.[208] The Queen of Heaven, a four-armed goddess, sits in calm majesty, with an admirably cut elephant as her footstool. A muslin drapery[209] falls in delicate curves to her feet, and is fastened by a girdle at the waist. Elaborate ornaments cover her breast, and her hair towers up in a cone of curls interwoven with rich gems, with a single massive tress hanging down upon either shoulder.

The Earth Goddess, who became the wife of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, sits with her infant on her knee, and, like the other two, consists of a colossal monolith eight feet high by four in breadth. Magnificent bracelets adorn the wrists and shoulders of her four arms, and the little finger of her left hand

[202] The Garuda.

[203] See "Extracts from the journal of Lieut. Markham Kittoe, submitted to the Asiatic Society at the meeting of the 6th October 1836 — "Ruins and Pillar of Jaipur." *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vii, 1838, p. 54.

[204] From Joseph Armstrong, Assistant Magistrate in charge of Jajpur, to the Magistrate of Cuttack, No. 67, dated 4th Sept. 1866. C. R.

[205] Indrani; not the wife of Indra, but the embodiment of the energy of Indra.

[206] Varahi. She is not the Earth Goddess, the wife of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu. She represents the prowess and energy of the Boar Incarnation.

[207] Chamunda, a form of Kali.

[208] They may be dated from the 9th to the 12th century A.D.

[209] Indian Sari.

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proves that Hindu ladies of that remote period wore rings. Heavy necklets almost hide the bosom and waist, which her muslin drapery, leaves half-bare. Bell-bangles encircle her ankles, crescent-shaped earrings depend from her ears, and on her head she wears a jewelled tiara, with the hair done up into a tower of curls, and a heavy tress falling upon each shoulder. She sits on a finely carved buffalo, the artistic lines of whose head and muzzle form a striking contrast to the miserable conventionalities which represent the sacred bull in front of Siva shrines at the present day. A temple to her husband, the Boar Incarnation, crowns a time-worn flight of stairs leading up from the river, adorned with a curious relief of the Sun God, but in other parts disfigured by the obscene sculpture which disgraces Vishnuvite art.[210]

The most striking of the three monoliths, however, is the Wife of the All-Destroyer—a colossal naked skeleton, with the skin hanging to the bones, and the veins and muscles standing out in ghastly fidelity. This appalling symbol of human decay has her hair brushed back under a snake fillet, with a death's-head over her forehead, and the distended hood of the cobra as a canopy above. Her serpent tresses fall down in twisted horror over her cheek. An endless string of skulls winds round her neck, her breast, her loins, and whole body. She sits upon a small figure of her husband, the God of Destruction, and the whole rests upon a lotus-leafed pedestal.[211] In a curious gallery overlooking the now dried-up bed of the river, another figure of the Goddess of Destruction ranks with the parent of the God of Death among the Seven Mothers of Hindu Mythology.[212] They form a series of beautifully-carved but sometimes revolting monoliths, to whose terrors the darkness of the gallery gives additional effect. The Goddess of Destruction here stands in the moment of her victory over the demon-host,[213] leaping with savage joy, a brimming cup of blood in one of her four hands, and her battle-axe in another. Her husband, fearful lest the shaken universe should split in pieces under the dancing fury, has thrown himself beneath her feet. The mother of the God of Death looms through the darkness as 'a hideous, decrepit old

[210] This Baraha Temple was the work of King Pratap Rudra Dev, 1497-1540 A.D., but the Sun-slab which is stuck into the wall belongs to a much earlier date. *Purushottama Chandrika*, p. 50.

[211] Not on a vehicle (Vahana), as supposed by Stirling. *As. Res.* xv. 336. Serampur, 1821.

[212] The Seven Mothers (Sapta Matrika Goddesses) are Brahmani, Mahesvari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Narasimhi, and Indrani, representing respectively the saktis or energies of Brahma, Mahesvara (Siva) Kumara (Karttikeya) Vishnu, Varaha, Narasimha and Indra

[213] Chamunda is so named because she killed the formidable demons Chanda and Munda. But her remarkable activities are found in her assistance to Durga in slaying the Asura Rakta vija, the powerful ally of Sumbha and Nisumbha.

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woman, seated on a pedestal, quite naked, with a countenance alike expressive of extreme old age, and of that sourness of disposition which has rendered her proverbial as a scold.'[214]

The temple walls and monolithic sculptures of Jajpur furnish even in their fragmentary state a chronicle of the ever-shifting religions of India. The great flight of steps which leads from the river to the shrine of the Boar Incarnation, commemorates by its name[215] the august Horse Sacrifice of Vedic times. Among the gods who thronged to the ceremony came Holy Mother Ganges; and ever since those solemn rites she has sent an offshoot of her waters through the bowels of the earth into Orissa, which emerges as the sacred Baitarani River, the Styx of the Hindus. This primitive tradition still commands the popular belief, and the official report on the Baitarani, drawn up for me by the British Authorities at Cattack, inaccurately stated that the river flowed underground for a mile. Fortunately, the Commissioner, who was good enough to look over the proof-sheets, had followed the course of the stream far into the Tributary States, and the sacred subterraneous channel has dwindled into a thickly wooded gorge.[216] Sivaite worship succeeded, *longo intervallo,* to these Vedic legends and pre-historic rites, and Jajpur next boasted itself the abode of the Goddess of Destruction and of the Sivaite Kings. On the death of his wife,[217] Siva wandered disconsolate for ages through the world, carrying her body on his head, and refusing to be comforted. But the other deities, pitying his despondency, cut up the corpse into fifty-one fragments, which, falling in different places,[218] made the fifty-one places of pilgrimage devoted to the Goddess of Destruction. A part dropped down on Puri, where, even within the temple of the rival Vishnuvite god, she is worshipped as The Stainless One.[219] Another fell at Jajpur, where a temple still stands in a lofty cocoa-nut grove to her, as the Goddess free from Ignorance.[220]

On the downfall of the Sivaite line in 1132, the bright Vishnuvite faith took up its abode in the City of the Goddess of Destruction. During the next few centuries the town formed the occasional headquarters of the Vishnuvite Dynasty. The sacred bird of Vishnu crowned the exquisite monolithic column

[214] For the description of the Mother Goddesses, of Chamunda and other associated deities, found at Jajpur, see R. P. Chanda, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India* No. 44 pp. 14-19.

[215] Dasasvamedha Ghat.

[216] Vide Hunter's *Statistical Account of the Tributary States,* App. III.

[217] In her form of Sati, daughter of Daksha and grand-daughter of Brahma.

[218] Piths.

[219] Vimala.

[220] Viraja; hence Viraja or Parvati Kshetra, the name of Jajpur and the region round about, sacred to the wife of Siva.

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which the Muhammadans in vain endeavoured to throw down. Another image of the Sacred Vulture now lies buried in a tank. The incarnaions of Vishnu form the subject of endless sculptures and *alto-relievos* on the walls, and a temple to Jagannath himself rises close to the sculptured gallery containing The Seven Mothers. A legend has now naturalized the new rites in the ancient metropolis of the Sivaite priests, and relates how Vishnu here slew a demon whose corpse stretched southwards to Rajmahendri, 400 miles down the coast.[221] I found the whole people Vishnuvite, the sacred plant of Vishnu outside every house,[222] a temple to Balabhadra (Jagannath's brother) in one of the villages,[223] and a local Purana, or Sacred Poem, reciting the victory of the God over the Demon. Even the minute ramifications of the Vishnuvite creed have left their representations at Jajpur. The Sun God still drives his seven-horsed chariot on the walls, and a colony of Sun-worshippers continues to keep alive the sacred fire in a neighbouring grove.

The city unhappily formed the theatre of the struggle between the Moslems and the Hindus in the sixteenth century, and emerged in ruins from the strife. 'I know spots where once stood populous villages,' writes a Magistrate, 'which have scarcely a sign of habitation.'[224] This contest belongs to the next chapter ; and here it will suffice to add, that notwithstanding the ravages of war, seven separate setttlements of Brahmans still trace their descent from the immigration of the sixth century A.D. They claim to hold their broad and fertile lands, studded with rich cocoa-nut groves, from the Sivaite monarch who between 474 and 520 A.D. expelled the Buddhist Dynasty and brought in Hindu rites... The city forms the capital of a Subdivision of the same name, and contains the Sub-divisional courts, a police station, a post office, a charitable dispensary, the office of an overseer of public works, and a Government Aided school.[225]

[221] The demon is Gayasura. When his burial was performed by Brahma, Vishnu and the Devas, his head remained buried at Gaya, his navel at Jajpur and his feet extended as far as the Mahendra mountains of Kalinga. Vide the Gayasura Mahatmya section of the *Vishnu Purana ;* and R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gaya,* Ch. I, pp. 10-20.

[222] The Tulsi plant.

[223] The famous Baladeva Jiu temple at Kendrapada, south-west of Jajpur. Hunter mentions the Balabhadra temple of Ichhapur in Ganjam district.

[224] Armstrong's Report to the Magistrate of Cuttack. 4th September 1866.

[225] The following are the Government and private institutions in modern Jajpur:—(1) S. D. O'S Office, (2) Munsif's Court, (3) Sub-Registration Office, (4) Sub-Jail, (5) Police Inspector's Office, (6) Block development office, (7) Anchal Office, (8) Commercial tax office, (9) General Post Office, (10) General Hospital, (11) Two H. E. Schools, (12) One secondary college named after the local Zamindar late Narasimha Chaudhuri, (13) Local Board's Office and (14) Central Co-operative Bank.

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The river has shifted its bed, and flows to the north of the town, separating the District of Cuttack from that of Balasore. Jajpur still derives much wealth from a yearly religious fair,[226] and from the piety of pilgrims who come to celebrate the obsequies of their ancestors in the City of the Goddess of Destruction. The priests keep cows which they sell to the devotees, who return them as a gift to their former owners, in obedience to a sacred maxim which enjoins each pilgrim to present a cow to his spiritual guide as he crossed 'the dreadful Baitarani river.' The city ranks fourth in Orissa, and contains 2169 houses with 9180 inhabitants.[227]

But in spite of the fascinations of Siva-worship; in spite, too, of the shoals of obsequious priests from the crowded north, who settled on the crown-lands of Orissa, Buddhism for some centuries held its own. The Chinese pilgrim who visited India between 630 and 650 B.C., bears witness to its vigorous existence in the delta of the Mahanadi, not less than in the delta of the Ganges, and to the deadly conflict which was going on between it and the modernized Brahmanical faith. 'In Orissa,' he says, 'there are a hundred Buddhistic monasteries, containing about ten thousand cenobites. There are also heretics (Brahmanists) who frequent the temples of the (Brahmanical) gods. The partisans of error are mingled in wild confusion with the followers of the truth. There remain, however, ten pillars of the Buddhist King Asoka, the sites of frequent miracles and prodigies.'[228] Buddhism in Orissa does not appear to have possessed that power of assimilation with Siva-worship which it exhibited on the slopes of the Himalayas.[229] When at length it disappeared, it melted not into Sivaism, but into the Vishnuvite rites of Jagannath. The original Aryan conquerors, the Worldly or Root-growing Brahmans of the present day, seem to have sullenly held aloof from the royal religion, and from its colonies of the newly-imported priests. The latter, true to the orthodox instincts of Brahmanism, continue Siva-worshippers to this hour, in spite of all the reforming activity which has been at work during the past four centuries in Orissa. Although Puri is now the focus of Vishnu-worship, and notwithstanding the hundred thousand Vishnuvite pilgrims that stream along its roads, and pour out their treasure at its shrines every year, the Brahmans

[226] Dedicated to Baruni, Queen of the Lord of Waters, held in March or April, when the people flock to bathe in the holy waters of the Baitarani.

[227] The present number of houses in Jajpur town is 2337 and the present population is 11,026. The municipality of Jajpur is, however, the oldest in Orissa.

[228] *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, par Stanislas Julien, 1853, p. 184.

[229] H. H. Wilson's Notes on three Tracts received from Nepal. *Works*, ii, 2. 1862.

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generally worship Siva as their village god, and some of their settlements[230] hold their lands under grants from the Lion-line dated a thousand years ago. In the minutest ceremony they are still the priests of the Sivaite Dynasty. For example, an inscription of that dynasty speaks of the All-Destroyer at Bhuvaneswar as the god 'whom the water of the Ganges worshippeth day and night'; and at this hour a bustling trade goes on outside the temple gate in the precious fluid, brought from the holy river of Bengal in wicker-covered pitchers. They extended their influence far into the hill country, and one of the Tributary States still traces its foundation as a separate principality to a Brahman, one thousand years ago.[231] The first Aryan settlers, on the other hand, never were distinctively Sivaite. They emerge upon history as Buddhists, and at this moment they generally have a temple, not to Siva, but to some incarnation of Vishnu, the deity who formed the natural successor of Buddhism, as their village shrine.

For the time drew on when Siva-worship in Orissa was to give place to a new form of faith. The fat maggots and creeping parasites that breed in the warm comfort of a national creed, had eaten the religion of the Lion-line to the core. Priestly sloth had spread its fungus growth over the holy places, and the sanctuary began to be polluted by the abominations which form the reproach of the Hindu temples at the present day. Royalty connived at the scandal, and an inscription of about the eighth century speaks of beautiful women 'with eyes like the fickle wagtail, adorned with jewels, and with heavy swelling bosoms,' as the presents of a princess to the priests.[232] Siva-worship had reformers not less zealous and not less spiritually-minded than the line of apostles who, as we have seen elsewhere, built up the Vishnuvite creed. But the history of Siva-worship in Orissa has nothing to do with these men. They belong to other provinces. They Sivaite priesthood represented here no spontaneous or natural outcome of the religious cravings of the people, but an exotic of royalty which flourished upon the Crown-lands, independently of the popular sympathy or of the popular support. While, therefore, the story of Jagannath is interwoven with the religious history of the Province, the annals of Siva-worship in Orissa deal with little else than the building of temples and grants of lands to the priests. The temples and

[230] Sasans.

[231] Hunter probably means here the Brahmin Kadamba dynasty to which the ruling family of Bonai belongs (for the Brahmanical orgin of the Kadambas see K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India* p. 201). The ruling family of Athmallik also belongs to Kadamba dynasty and scions of this dynasty are holding the Estates of Dharakot, Badagarh, Sergarh and Sorada in Ganjam district and Tekkali in Vizagapatam district.

[232] *Journal As. Soc.* vii. 562.

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the rent-free estates remain as the most beautiful objects of the landscape at this day, but the people have found different leaders and other gods.

The earlier kings of the Lion-line held their court sometimes at Bhuvaneswar, they City of Temples to Siva, and sometimes at Jajpur, the City of his Priests on the holy river. But a warlike prince, who reigned from 953 to 961 A.D., perceived the military strength of the tongue of land where the Mahanadi first divides into its several branches, and founded Cuttack, still the capital of the Province. He shut out the river by means of a masonry embankment several miles long, which at present consists of enormous blocks of hewn stone, in some places twenty-five feet high.[233] The second monarch in descent from him strengthened the new capital by an outlying fortress on the southern bank of the river, and thus commanded the various channels into which the Mahanadi, the highway between the hills and the plains, bifurcates. A century later, the reigning prince built the massive bridge by which the pilgrims enter Puri at this day.[234] A broad river then flowed beneath it, separating the sandy ridges of Jagannath from the mainland, while an inner stream coursed through what is now the heart of the city. The bridge consists of masses of the red ferruginous stone, known to the geologers as laterite, the special peculiarities of which are its softness when first quarried, and the fact that it grows harder by exposure to the air.[235] The bridge spans 290 feet of water-way by means of eighteen arches; the central one being eighteen feet high by fourteen feet broad, and the piers eight feet by six. The Hindu architects did not at that time know how to turn an arch, but they had a device of their own scarcely less skilful; a device which they applied with exquisite plasticity, alike to the lofty towers of the temples, to the most delicate of balconies, and to the humblest gateway or river-crossing. It consists of laying horizontal tiers of stones one above the other, but each projecting slightly beyond the one below it, 'in the manner of inverted

[233] The name of the king was Makar Kesari, who ruled from 953 to 961, according to the palm-leaf Record. He is the Markat Kesari of Stirling, who places his reign about thirty years later. It is doubtful whether the whole embankment was not renewed during the Mughul period. It is certain that many parts of it do not belong to an earlier date.

[234] Matsya Kesari by name. 1034 to 1050 A.D. according to the Palm-leaf record, *Purushottama Chandrika*, p. 33. Stirling ascribes the bridge to a later monarch, but he seems to confound the building of the bridge with the filling up of the channel beyond it by Kesari Narsinha, A.D. 1282-1307. Compare *As. Res.* xv. 274 with *Purushottama Chandrika*, pp. 33 and 42.

It may be stated here that Makara or Markat Kesari, Matsya Kesari and Kesari Narasinha are all legendary figures, so far unknown to sober History.

[235] See Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. ii, Appendix v, Geological Account of Orissa.

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stairs, until they converge near enough at the top to sustain a keystone or cross-beam.'[236] The superincumbent mass behind weighs down the slight projection in front; and when well built, such arches are almost indestructible. Even after the keystone, with the whole of one side, has fallen, the other half stands self-supporting, and I was particularly struck with the proofs which a local builder in one of the Tribuary Hill States adduced of their stability. It is necessarily a heavy style of architecture, but the artistic Hindu has succeeded in imparting to it a surprising degree of his own lithe and supple grace.

Meanwhile Buddhism was disappearing from India, and new creeds and mushroom dynasties rushed into the vacuum. At the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., a series of tribal movements took place among the mountain principalities that overlook the eastern coast. A fertile strip of rice land lay at their feet, and one Proli founded a fine maritime kingdom at the expense of his neighbours. He seized the State on the south of Orissa, which now forms the northern part of the Madras Presidency,[237] forced the neighbouring princes to swell his expedition as feudatories, 'branded vanquished monarchs,' and took and gave away kingdoms with the high-handed munificence of an Indian potentate insecure of his tenure, but determined on building up his house while his power lasted.[238] His successors quarrelled over the inheritance, waged war on each other, burnt cities, and spread panic far and wide. But at length one of them acknowledge himself worsted, sued for his brother's protection, and received in fief the southern part of the kingdom, which ran inland from near the town of Madras to the great mountain range of Central India.[239] The victorious brother consolidated his power in the northern part of the family territory, retaining his father's capital, and subjecting the neighbouring States. In one of his expeditions he pushed his way into Orissa, and partly by war, partly by diplomacy, succeeded the childless monarch of the Lion-line in 1132, and so ended that dynasty.[240]

The origin of the new dynasty remains a matter of dispute. The local legends point to the southern coast as the starting-point

[236] Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. 337. See also Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 549, etc.

[237] Its capital was Kalinganagara, the modern Mukhalinga.

[238] *Journal As. Soc.* vii. part ii. 903 et seq.

[239] Hunter probably means here the territory of the Western Ganga line.

[240] Hunter deals with the history of the Eastern Ganga line from Indra varma I (497-536 A.D. ?) to Rajaraja I (1070-1078 A.D.) in a very vague manner. Nothing definite was known during his time about this line of kings and even at present our knowledge about their dates and Chronology remain far from satisfactory. Chodaganga deva (1078-1147 A.D.) the son and successor of Rajaraja I occupied Utkala in 1112 A.D. after defeating the last Somavamsi King, who, according to the Madala Panji was known as Suvarana Kesari.

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of the race; but evidence is not wanting to connect them with Bengal, and their family name, the Gangetic line,[241] appears to support this view.[242] The explanation may be, that the founder of the family[243] belonged to a Gangetic house, and carried the Vishnuvite doctrines from Bengal with him on his successful expedition to Southern India. But the weight of the evidence leans the other way, and indicates that he belonged to a southern dynasty which sent forth an expedition into Bengal. Certain it is, that on the partition of Proli's eastern sea-coast kingdom of Madras, the successful claimant, Chor-ganga by name, pushed northwards, obtained the sovereignty of Orissa, and paid royal honours to the Vishnuvite god. His memory survives in the name of one of the quarters of the holy city of Puri to this day.[244] To him the chroniclers assign the commencement on a regular plan of the Palm-leaf Records, and within half a century his successor had built and dedicated the existing temple to Jagannath.[245]

The first act of the new dynasty was to revolutionize the religion of Orissa. As its monarchs during the seven centuries before the accession of the Lion-line had been Buddhists, and as the Lion-line during the next seven centuries were Siva-worshippers; so during the past seven centuries, from the coming in of the new dynasty in 1132 down to the present day, the reigning house have been Vishnuvites. In each case the revolution was a gradual one; and in each the first evidence we have of the change, manifests itself not in any wholesale conversion of the people, but in an outburst of dynastic activity in building temples to the new gods. Buddhism, however, fought longer against Siva-worship in the fifth century A.D. than the effete Siva-worship of the twelfth century could hold its own against Vishnuvism. Two centuries and four generations of the Lion-line passed away before they raised their great temple to the All-Destroyer. On the other hand, the new Vishnuvite dynasty had completed its shrine to Jagannath in little more than half a century after its accession. Nevertheless, Siva-worship made

[241] Ganga-Vamsa.

[242] The Palm-leaf Record asserts that they came from the south (*Purushottama Chandrika.* 35). The Indian annalist whose Ms. work (Raj-Charitra) Stirling used, follows on the same side, and Stirling adopts this view. (*As. Res.* xv. 267). On the other hand, Mountstuart Elphinstone states that they were a dynasty of the Gangetic valley, and even localizes their original kingdom as lying round Tamluk and Midnapur. (*Hist. India*, 243; Cowell's edition.) He supports his position by the authority of H. H. Wilson (Pref. to *Mackenzie Papers*, cxxxvii.). For an elaborate account, see Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv. 17-24, also pp. 5, 14 and 968 *passim*.

[243] Proli.

[244] The Chudanga Sahi, with a large tank. *Purushottama Chandrika*, 35. Chodaganga also appears as Chudanga in the Madala Panji.

[245] See ante ch. i. f. n. 41.

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some stand. As the early inscriptions of the Lion-line recognise the Lord Vishnu, although they specially extol Siva, so one of the most important of the stone writings of the new dynasty, dating about 1174 A.D., is devoted to the praise of Siva.[246] The two religions always co-existed, and representing as they do the two great instincts of the human soul, will continue to co-exist as long as Hinduism remains the creed of the Indian people. Under the Lion-line, Sivaism, the religion of terror, was the royal creed ; but even before the accession of the new dynasty in 1132, Vishnu-worship had begun to assert the religion of a Divine Beneficence, and an inscription of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century extols the bright god.

Hitherto the external relations of Orissa had been with the south ; but from the incoming of the Gangetic line a connection becomes visible between it and the adjoining Province on the north. The founder of the dynasty appears from an inscription to have carried his arms into the western districts of Bengal, and to have sacked Burdwan.[247] As already mentioned, his race bore a dynastic title strongly indicative of a family intercourse with the Gangetic valley ; indeed, his son is called the Lord of the Ganges,[248] and the Palm-leaf Record plainly asserts that the territory of the latter king reached from the Godavari right up to the Gangetic valley. This statement is borne out by other evidence ;[249] and there can be little doubt that, under the first vigorous princes of the new dynasty in the twelfth century, the pre-historic monarchy of Kalinga was again gathered up into one kingdom, embracing the whole eastern coast of India from the delta of the great river of Bengal to the delta of the great river of Madras.

Nor are the memorials which the early kings of the Gangetic line have left behind them unworthy of so vast a territory. The temple at Jagannath has already been described, but it falls far short of the marvellous structure which rose in honour of the Sun fifty years later. In Orissa, as everywhere throughout India, the thirteenth century witnessed the last great efforts of Hindu art. From 900 to 1300 A.D. architecture was the ruling passion of Indian princes, not less than of European kings.[250] These were the four building centuries of the Indo-Germanic race, and

[246] The commemorative inscription of the Meghesvara temple at Bhuvanesvar, belonging to the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vi. pp. 198 ff.

[247] See the Kendu-Patna copper plate grant in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896.

[248] According to *Purushottam Chandrika* p. 36, the son of Chodaganga was Gangesvara, who reigned from 1156 A.D. This, however, is a wrong view and 'Gangesvara' is now known to be another name of Chodagangadeva.

[249] Cf. Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. 270.

[250] Fergusson's *Hist. Arch.* vol. ii. book iv. 548.

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same age produced the masterpieces alike of Gothic and of Hindu art. In both continents the national passion lavished itself not on the palaces of the monarchs, but on the temples of the gods. In India, architectural talent reached its meridian with tropical swiftness, and began to wane a full century before the graver Gothic taste of Europe betrayed the first symptoms of decline. The slender-pointed arches of the Western cathedrals of the fourteenth century, the elaborate but still controlled ornamentation of their roofs, their enriched doorways, and the exquisite tracery of their windows, were the mature flowering of four hundred years of sober growth. Indian architecture, on the other hand, had lost much of its purity and simplicity before the commencement of the twelfth century, and had reached the maximum of ornamentation compatible with the canons of art early in the thirteenth.[251] The works of this period surpass in their rich and luscious beauty anything that I have seen in Europe. Expiring Buddhism had effected its last great compromise with Vishnu-worship, and the two combined to supplant the terrors of Sivaism by a religion of beauty. In the old settled and strongly Aryan Provinces, the composite creed took the highly spiritual form of Jainism. In other parts it became Vishnuvism either pure and simple, or Sun-worship, or some incarnation of the bright Vishnuvite god. Thus in Gujarat, between 1197 and 1247 A.D., two brothers built the exquisite marble temple on Mount Abu, the richest effort of Jain devotion, which, 'for delicacy of carving and minute labour of detail, stands almost unrivalled even in this land of patient and lavish labour.'[252] During the latter of these same years the reigning monarch of the Gangetic line[253] reared the lovely pile that now overlooks the Bay of Bengal at Kanarak, the temple of the Sun, whose luscious ornamentation forms at once the glory and the disgrace of Orissa art.[254]

It is but a fragment, never completed,[255] and more than half fallen into ruins. At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vedic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the

[251] Hunter is led by his observations in eastern norfoern and western India, as well as, by Fergusson's illustrations, to place the zenith of Hindu architecture somewhere later than what Fergusson does in his History vol. ii. 548 ; but this in no way lessens his obligations to the latter's great works.

[252] Fergusson's *Hist. Arch.* ii.. 622.

[253] Narasimha deva i, 1238-1264 A.D.

[254] The erotic sculptures appear to be a disprace to Hunter, who fails to realise their significance.

[255] There is no doubt about the completion of the temple of Konarak. The Aini Akbari, Tirtha Chintamani and Madala Panj-i clearly depict this Sun temple in its full and complete state of existence.

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country being devoted to it,[256] exactly as Siva and Vishnu have their well-demarcated 'regions,' but also by the rock writings. It formed one of the corruptions into which Buddhism early fell, and an inscription of the fourth or fifth century designates the Buddhistic king who excavated the cave as 'the worshipper of the Sun.'[257]

Its connection with Vishnuvism makes itself felt in myths and legends. The existence of the temple of the Sun at Kanarak, which is the only one I know of, either in the Gangetic or the Orissa delta, is accounted for by the following story: 'A son of Vishnu[258] having accidentally looked on one of his father's nymphs in her bath, was stricken with leprosy. The Indian Actæon went forth into banishment; but, more fortunate than the grandson of Cadmus, while wandering on the lonely shore of Orissa, was cured by the divine rays of the sun. He raised a temple on the scene of the miracle, and to this day the Hindu believes that a leper who with a single mind worships the bright deity will be healed of his infirmity. The Sun's charioteer is the brother of the bird of Vishnu, and the peculiar polygonal columns of Orissa are equally raised in honour of both the gods; the only difference being, that the Sun pillars are surmounted by his charioteer, and the Vishnuvite ones by the sacred vulture. The Sun is the natural object of adoration for an unrevealed religion. It seems in one age or another to have been the universal diety of the East, and it was the most beautiful of the bright Grecian gods. From time to time there have been revivals of Sun-worship on the largest scale, such as that which took place throughout the Roman Empire towards the end of the third century A.D., and which, under Diocletian, not only gave a new life to Paganism, but introduced a deadly heresy into the Christian Church.[259] In the twelfth century, when Buddhism was finally resolving itself into the composite creeds which succeeded it, a similar revival seems to have taken place in Orissa. Buddhism left behind it three heirs to the popular faith: the Vishnu-worship, which was destined for the next seven centuries to be the religion of the province; Jain-worship, which still maintains a flickering existence in the little shrine on the summit of the cave-honey-

256 The Arka Kshetra. Hunter explains Konarka the site of the temple as follows: *Kana+arka*, the corner of the Sun, or the corner of Arka-Kshetra *i.e.* the corner of the region of Orissa dedicated to the Sun.

257 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vi, pp. 1075-91. This is the famous Hatigumpha inscripton of Kharavela who flourished in the 1st century B.C. He was neither a Buddhist nor a Sun worshipper; he was a devout Jaina.

258 In his incarnation of Krishna.

259 Hermogenes confounded the Sun of Righteousness with the visible orb, and taught that Christ had put off His incarnate body in the Sun.

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combed hill,[260] and Sun worship, for which the lovely ruins at Kanarak were designed.

Sun-worship is a creed little susceptible of material representation. Nevertheless its architectural remains survive in several parts of Orissa. I have mentioned that even in Jajpur, the ancient capital of the Sivaite dynasty, the flight of steps by which the pilgrims descend into the Hindu Styx exhibits a granite bas-relief of the Sun God seated on his celestial car, and drawn by seven prancing horses. I found a similar sculpture among the almost unknown ruins of Shergarh, and the Sun God in his golden chariot appears among the divinities which my native artist has figured for me as the objects of popular adoration in Orissa. Both there and in Bengal, the Brahmans daily repeat a prayer to the Sun after bathing; and the stricter sort of Vishnu-worshippers refrain from animal food on the first day of the week, which bears the name of Sunday alike in England and India.[261] The common people on the plains merely bow to the orb after their morning ablutions; but in the highlands[262] to the north-west of Orissa, the low castes do not break their fast till they catch a clear view of the deity, and in cloudy weather have sometimes to remain a day without food. During the whole harvest month,[263] each Sunday brings round weekly solemnities in honour of the bright god. Every village household prepares a tray covered with earth, into which rice seeds are dropped. Little earthenware cups containing pure water are placed upon it, and on Sundays the family priest goes through a few simple rites, pouring a libation of fresh water upon the tray, and invoking the Sun.[264] All Bengal and Orissa celebrate the Sun's entry into Capricorn[265] by fairs, and the great gathering at Sagar at the mouth of the Hugli takes place on that day.

But the primitive fire-worship of the Veda has long ago given place to the more materialistic superstitions of modern Hinduism, and sun-worshippers, properly so called,[266] are unknown in Lower Bengal. Little settlements of them, however, still survive in Orissa. They keep alive the undying fire, and celebrate the primitive ceremonies; offering a burnt sacrifice of clarified butter in their houses morning and evening, and adhering to the archaic terms of the Vedic ritual. At the full moon they meet together for public adoration in some retired grove. Such

[260] At Khandgiri, described in a previous part of this chapter.
[261] Rabibar (Ravi-var).
[262] *e.d.* in Manbhum and the western borders of Bankura. Hunter has already referred to a similar rite in the Himalayas.
[263] Agrahayan, falling within November and December.
[264] Ritu-puja, literally season-worship. The priest must be a Brahman, and in Brahman households any member who has received the thread may officiate.
[265] On the last day of the month of Paus. (Makara Samkranti day).
[266] Sauras.

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a grove, rugged and torn by many an ancient cyclone, I visited on the outskirts of Jajpur. A colony of fire-worshippers there celebrates its rites on a masonry platform, near to a little temple to the Lord of the Peaceful,[267] the feathery palm foliage waving overhead, and the air heavy with the perfume of flowering trees.

One of the legendary chronologies of Orissa, indeed, gives a detailed account of a line of Sun Kings. It intercalates this dynasty between the Lion Race and the Gangetic or Vishnuvite Line. The former, according to the generally received lists, succeeded the Yavanas in 474 A.D., and gave place to the Gangetic Line in 1132. But a subsequently compiled list[268] makes the Lion Line begin in 132 B.C., and end in 655 A.D. It fills in the next seven centuries by a Sun Dynasty of eighteen kings, who last to 1324 A.D., when the Gangetic Line succeeds.[269] This chronology forms one of many attempts by the Jagannath record-keepers to magnify their own deity. It says nothing about the Yavana or Buddhist occupation, and cuts down the Siva Dynasty of the Lion Line from forty-four to eight monarchs. On the other hand, it gives a detailed account of a series of pre-historic adventures of Jagannath, and manufactures the Legend of the Log into a grave narrative of dates and reigns, which it fills with portents and fables. Throughout it displays the two trade-marks of modern Brahman workmanship—the tendency to throw back its dates as far as possible into antiquity, and a constant effort to maintain the importance of the priests. The king who reigned in 1128 B.C. invented wheeled carriages, ships, and water-mills; organized the system of local cesses[270] which we found existing in the country, and maintained 752 poets at his Court. It furnishes the most astonishing numbers with absolute precision, and unrolls all antiquity before our incredulous eyes. A pious monarch of 2287 B.C. digs wells and tanks; a later one subdues eight demons by enchantment in 1475 B.C., but eventually turns out to be our old friend Vikramaditya, who belongs at earliest to the beginning of the Christian era. Nor do marvels cease even when we come to historic times. The sovereign who reigned 1032-1059 A.D. vowed he would marry a hundred thousand wives, but unfortunately died of paralysis just as he reached his sixty-thousandth. His successor is suspected to have had a tail.

During the two following reigns terrible famines occurred,

[267] Santesvara, a name of Siva.

[268] The Vansavali, found among Stirling's posthumous papers, and printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for 1837. Vol. vi. part ii. 756 et seq.

[269] The Solar dynasty actually succeeded the Ganga dynasty in 1435 A.D. and three famous rulers of this dynasty ruled over Orissa upto 1541 A.D.

[270] Sayer.

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ending in a darkness which covered the earth for seven days, 1107-1143 A.D. According to this chronology, the Sun monarchs began by banishing all the gods of the Siva Line, except the dread wife of the deity. Its first king founded the Jagannath archives in 565-655 A.D. Its second conquered the whole country from the Ganges to the Godavari. Its fourth rebuilt the Temple of Jagannath, 901 A.D. The eighth built that to the Sun at Kanarak, 1059 A.D. A later one introduced the great boat festival of Jagannath, and the whole dynasty seems to have oscillated between Sun-worship and the Vishnuvite god. Stirling more moderately gives a Sun Dynasty of six kings, beginning A.D. 1236 with the monarch who built the Sun Temple, and ending in 1451.[271]

The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Kanarak upon the Orissa shore. Built, according to the most trustworthy records, between 1237 and 1282 A.D., shortly after the triumph of the graceful Vishnuvite creed, it concentrates in itself the accumulated beauties of the four architectural centuries among the Hindus. Notwithstanding the indecent sculptures which disgrace its exterior wall, it forms the climax of Orissan art, and wrung an unwilling tribute even from the Muhammadans. My great predecessor in the work of writing District Accounts, Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, speaks of it about the year 1580 in the following terms: 'Near to Jagannath is the Temple of the Sun, in the erection of which was expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years. No one can behold this immense edifice without being sruck with amazement. The wall which surrounds the whole is 150 hands high, and 19 hands[272] thick. In the front of the gate is a pillar of black stone of an octagonal form, 50 yards high. There are nine flights of steps, after ascending which you come to an extensive open space,[273] where you discover a large arch[274] constructed of stone, upon which are carved the sun and stars. Around them is a border where are represented a variety of worshippers of all tribes, some standing on their heads, some sitting, some prostrated, some laughing, some weeping, some bewildered, some sensible, together with minstrels and a number of strange and wonderful animals, such as never existed but in imagination. There are twenty-eight other temples

[271] From 1238 A.D. to 1435 A.D. four Narasimhadevas and four Bhanudevas ruled alternately in Orissa, and they all belonged to the Ganga dynasty. Stirling mistook them as rulers of the Solar Dynasty because he wrongly accepted 'Bhanu' as a dynastic name although it was a personal name.

[272] Gladwin says cubits, but the word in the original is *dast*. In the following sentences he also gives cubits for yards (*gaz*). His translation is found in *As. Res.* xv. 328, and Hunter follows it, except in some inaccuracies, of which the above are examples.

[273] In the original text, *cihn*.

[274] Tak.

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near to this pagoda, and they are all reported to have performed miracles.'

The great temple alone survives, and even it seems never to have been completed, as the foundation of the internal pillars on which the heavy dome rested gave way before the outer halls were finished.[275] A perfect jungle of legends soon sprung up with a view to explain the desertion of so costly and beautiful a shrine. It formed a landmark along the coast which ships still sight on their passage up the Bay; and inaccuracy in the bearings, or neglect to use the lead, constantly wrecked vessels on the shore.[276] The villagers explained such mishaps by a story of a huge lodestone[277] on the summit of the tower, which, like Sinbad the Sailor's rock, drew the unhappy ships on the sands; and they circumstantially relate how a Moslem crew at length scaled the temple, and carried off the fatal magnet.[278] The priests, they say, forthwith abandoned the desecrated shrine, and migrated with their god to Puri. Certain it is that the great shrine at Puri has a little temple to the Sun within its all-embracing walls, and the exquisite polygonal tower which Abul Fazl mentions as outside the Kanarak edifice now stands in front of the Lion-gate of Jagannath. The delicate proportions of this monolith may be judged of from the plate published elsewhere (An Orissa Sun Pillar.) I found another, of nearly equal beauty, although of much more modern workmanship, outside a temple in one of the loneliest parts of the Delta.[279] A third column of the same type, but dedicated to Vishnu, and formerly surmounted by his sacred vulture, has survived the iconoclastic ravages of the Muhammadans at Jajpur, and half a century ago such pillars were common throughout Orissa. They resemble the Buddhist columns;[280] and in this, as in its rosaries, monastic attitudes, and laws of ornamentation, Hinduism, and especially Vishnu-worship, borrowed its architecture from the ancient monotheistic faith.

The Sun Temple at Kanarak now forms a picturesque ruin looking down upon the sea. It lies nineteen miles north-west of

[275] Hunter is indebted for this explanation to Rajendra Lala Mitra, to whose work on the *Antiquities of Orissa* he again refers the reader for measurements and scientific details. Stirling, in his account of this temple, is less trustworthy than in the other portions of his essay. He gives the traditional date of 1241 for the building of the edifice. Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture,* overlooks the fourfold character of the chambers in Hindu Temples. See Hunter's Ground Plan of Jagannath.

[276] Even Horsburgh nearly met with this mishap. See his *Sailing Directions,* p. 581, quarto 1852.

[277] Kalasa

[278] *As. Res.* xv. 327.

[279] At Kendrapara.

[280] Lats.

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Jagannath, and will well repay a visit from any lover of art. On the 4th February 1870, I started from Puri about midnight by palanquin, and reached Kanarak at daybreak. We found our tents pitched under three fine old banyan trees fifty yards from the temple, on the skirt of a grove of cocoa nuts, palms, and mangoes, from amid which two ancient shrines peeped out. A jungle of delicate-leafed shrubs of the citron tribe lay in front of the dilapidated pile, and the roar of the sea came faintly over the sandy ridges which lay between us and the shore. No traces of the outer wall remain, the Marhatta officers having carried away the stones as building materials to Puri; and of the temple, which in a complete state would have consisted of four[281] chambers, only a single one, the HALL OF AUDIENCE, survives. Its great doorway facing the east is blocked up by masses of stone and festooned with creepers. In front rises a huge mound of jungle-covered rubbish, the remains of the outer HALL OF OFFERINGS. Sculptures in high relief, exquisitely cut, but of an indecent character, cover the exterior walls, and bear witness to an age when Hindu artists worked from nature. The nymphs are beautifully shaped women, in luscious attitudes; the elephants move along at the true elephant trot, and kneel down in the stone exactly as they did in life. Some of the latter have, however, the exaggrerated ear and conventional mouth of modern Hindu sculpture, and the lions must have been altogether evolved from the artists' inner consciousness. Each of the four doorways, on the north, south, east and west, has two lintels of chlorite, a bluish slate-like stone, very hard, and exquisitely polished. On these lintels rest two massive beams of iron supporting the wall above. The eastern entrance was till lately surmounted, as in other Orissa temples, by a chlorite slab, on which the emblems of the seven days of the week, with the ascending and descending modes, are carved.[282] The beauty of this elaborate piece proved to it a more fatal enemy than time itself, and tempted English antiquarians to try to remove it by sea to the Museum at Calcutta. A grant of public money was obtained, but it sufficed only to drag the massive block a couple of hundred yards, where it now lies, quite apart from the temple, and as far as ever from the shore. The builders of the twelfth century had excavated it in the quarries of the Hill States, and carried it by a land journey across swamps and over unbridged rivers, for a distance of eighty miles.

I can only describe Kanarak as a ruin; but lovely as it still is, it presented beauties half a century ago that have now disappeared. Stirling visited it about 1820, and has left behind him the following tasteful account: 'The skill and labour of the best

[281] *Vide ante*, p. 17, 18.
[282] The Nava-graha described in next paragraph.

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artists seem to have been reserved for the finely polished slabs of chlorite which line and decorate the outer faces of the doorways. The whole of the sculpture on these figures, comprising men and animals, foliage and arabesque patterns, is executed with a degree of taste, propriety, and freedom, which would stand a comparison with some of our best specimens of Gothic architectural ornaments. The workmanship remains, too, as perfect as if it had just come from the chisel of the sculptor, owing to the extreme hardness and durability of the stone. A triangular niche over each doorway was once filled with a figure cut in alto-relievo, emblematic of the deity of the place, being that of a youth in a sitting posture, holding in each hand a stalk of the true lotus, the expanded flowers of which are turned towards him. Each architrave has, as usual, the Nava-graha, or nine Brahmanical planets, very finely sculptured in alto-relievo. Five of them are well-proportioned figures of men with mild and pleasing countenances, crowned with high pointed caps, and seated cross-legged on the lotus, engaged in religious meditation. One hand bears a vessel of water, and the fingers of the other are counting over the beads of a rosary which hangs suspended. The form of the planet which presides over Thursday (Vrihaspati or Jupiter) is distinguished from the others by a flowing, majestic beard. Friday, or Venus, is a youthful female, with a plump, well-rounded figure. Ketu, the descending node, is a Triton whose body ends in the tail of a fish or dragon; and Rahu, or the ascending node, a monster all head and shoulders, with a grinning, grotesque countenance, frizzly hair dressed like a full-blown wig, and one immense canine tooth projecting from the upper jaw. In one hand he holds a hatchet, and in the other a fragment of the moon.'[283]

Among the life-sized pieces, elephants crouch in terror under rampant lions, while multilated human figures lie crushed beneath the flat, pulpy feet of the elephants. Clubmen, griffins, warriors on prancing horses, colossal figures of grotesque and varied shape, stand about in silent stony groups. The elephants have the flabby under-lips of nature, and exhibit a uniformity in all the essential points of their anatomy, with a variety in posture and detail, which Hindu art has long forgotten. Two colossal horses guard the southern facade, one perfect, the other with his neck broken and otherwise shattered. The right hand stallion has a Roman nose, prominent eyes, nostrils not too open, and in other respects carved from a well-bred model; excepting the jowl, which is bridled in close upon the neck, making the channel too narrow—a mistake which I have also noticed in the ancient sculptures of Italy and Greece. The legs, too, have a fleshy and conventional look. He is very richly caparisoned with bosses and

[283] *As. Res.* xv. 332. Serampur, 1825.

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bands round the face, heavy chain armour on the neck, tasselled necklaces, jewelled bracelets on all four legs, and a tasselled breastband which keeps the saddle in position. The saddle resembles the mediæval ones of Western chivalry, with a high pummel and well-marked cantle, but has a modern girth, consisting of a single broad band clasped by a buckle outside the fringe of a sumptuous saddle-cloth. The stirrup iron are round, like those of our own cavalry. A scabbard for a short Roman sword hangs down on the left, a quiver filled with feathered arrows on the right, while a groom adorned with necklaces and breast jewels runs at the horse's head, holding the bridle. The fierce war-stallion has stamped down two of the enemy; not kicking or prancing, but fairy trampling them into the earth. These appear to be Rakshasas or aborigines, from their woolly hair, tiger-like mouths and tusks, and their short curved swords like the national Gurkha weapon,[284] half bill-hook, half-falchion, and equally suited for ripping up a foe, or for cutting a path through the jungle. They wear heavy armlets, but no defensive armour, excepting a round shield made of several plies of metal richly carved, with a boss in the centre, and tassels or tufts of hair hanging down from it. The shields appear to have borne some heraldic device, and the most perfect of them still exhibits two lizards climbing up on either side of the boss, done to the life. Such *quasi*-armorial bearings frequently appear in Orissa. Stirling noticed one at Bhuvaneswar in 1820, and the chiefs of the adjoining Tributary States have each a heraldic device or emblem of signature, handed down in their families from remote generations.[285]

A pyramid-shaped roof rises by terraces of exquisitely carved granite to a lotus-crowned pinnacle. Viewed from below, this lofty expanse of masonry looks as if one could not place a finger on an unsculptured inch. I clambered up to it by means of a vast pile of stones, the ruins of the Towered Sansctuary to which the existing hall only formed an outer chamber; forcing my way through the jungle of camelia-leafed creepers and flowering shrubs which clothe its desolation, and from which rose clouds of brown feathery butterflies fringed with white. Every now and then a hawk started screaming from the mingled mass of foliage and masonry, and after a dart into space returned in converging circles, hoping to pounce on one of the doves which kept cooing and rustling inside the Temple. The monkeys dashed about, now holding on by one hand to a projecting figure, and swinging their bodies over into the air; then burying themselves behind clusters of ivy-creepers, chattering and grinning to

[284] Kukri.
[285] See Hunter's *Stat. Account of Trib. States*, App. III.; also *As. Res.* xv. 310, and *Trans. Bombay Asiatic Soc.* i. 217, etc.

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the full circumference of their white teeth. The roof rises by three tiers, each consisting of a number of receding layers of masonry. It forms, as it were, three lofty flights of steps, covered with elephants, horses, cavalry, and foot-soldiers, in endless processions. Innumerable luscious busts of nymphs stand out from the mass of carving, while images of the four-headed Brahma look towards the sea, and shed the sanction of religion on the aerial sculptured world. The favourite musical instruments of the thirteenth century among the Hindus seem to have been the guitar, the little drum,[286] and the cymbals, just as at the present day. The nymphs are rather over life size, with swelling breasts, full throats, and delicately retreating heads, models of voluptuous womanhood, passionate creations in stone. They wear their hair in enormous chignons, projecting horizontally from behind. A head-dress falls in graceful festoons across both temples, ending in a golden boss at either ear, from which hang elaborate earrings. Their necklaces consist of many plies of the Tulsi bead,[287] and fall in a triangular shape upon the bosom. Each arm has a handsome bracelet just below the shoulder, and a still more elaborate one at the elbow. Their ornaments—ornaments so abundant, however, as to form a sort of clothing—supply their only drapery above the waist, which a girdle of many folds encircles. From this, a garment of gauzy muslin falls upon the limbs, but scarcely conceals their delicate curves. The whole is carved in reddish granite highly polished, and just enough touched by time to give a softness to the sweet profiles and voluptuous busts which stand out against the blue sky.

If all this ungrudging labour was lavished on merely the OUTER CHAMBER, we may judge of the magnificence of the TOWERED SANCTUARY, whose ruins now form the jungle-covered hill behind. This inner edifice, if it was ever completed, finds no place in Abul Fazl's description, and had probably tumbled down before his day (1580 A.D.).[288] But its size may be inferred from the proportions of other temples belonging to the same order, and a restored elevation of it will be found in James Fergusson's delightful work.[289] The enormous pyramidal roof of the still existing OUTER CHAMBER rests on walls sixty feet high,[290] and rises other sixty-four feet above them. It furnishes an admirable illustration of the Hindu Arch as applied to roofing, and consists of layers of masnory each projecting a little beyond

[286] Nagara.

[287] These are beads of pearl and coral, not of Tulsi.

[288] Abul Fazl's account does not indicate that the temple of Konarak had tumbled down by the time it was written. See Ain-i-Akbari vol. ii. pp. 128-29.

[289] *Hist. Arch.* ii. 591, ed. 1867.

[290] In the time of Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. 329. The accumulations around their base have now decreased their height.

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the one below it, like inverted stairs, and so converging eventually at the top. Hindu architecture, from its very commencement in Orissa, 500 A.D., seems to have had an unlimited command of iron; but the metal clamps upon which the builders of the CITY OF TEMPLES in the sixth century so much depended, are here more sparingly used. The architects of the twelfth century trusted to their improved mechanical appliances for lifting enormous weights, and kept the converging layers of the roof in position by the mass of masnory behind. They handled their colossal beams of iron and stone with as much ease and plasticity as modern workmen put up pine-rafters, and fitted in blocks of twenty to thirty tons with absolute precision at a height of eight feet. The lower part of the roof, however, was supported not only by the superincumbent mass behind, but also by enormous monolithic pillars forty feet high. The sandy ridge, the only fundation which the architect could Ind so near the shore, yielded under these vast blocks. By degrees the columns sank, and the inner layers of the roof, thus deprived of part of the support on which they depended, came down with a crash. The ruins now lie heaped upon the floor, a gigantic chaos; and the contrast between their unwieldy bulk, and the labourious sculpture which covers almost every square inch outside, forces on the memory Bishop Heber's criticism, that the Indians built like Titans, and finished like jewellers.

The pyramidal temple roof forms one of the most typical features of the religious architecture of the Hindus. In the OUTER CHAMBERS the overlapping national arch is manipulated into a gently converging apex; in the TOWERED SANCTUARIES it takes the shape, so to speak, of a conical dome.[291] In the former the pyramidal roof requires the internal support of pillars, and sometimes also of colossal rafters of iron. But in the latter the roof converges more slowly into a cone, and the weight behind sustains the overlapping of each successive tier of masonry. The Hindus never could form a perfect dome till the Muhammadans taught them to turn the arch, but they formed a conical dome almost as plastic and as enduring as the true circular one. Even in the OUTER CHAMBER of the SUN TEMPLE, when the pillars had fallen down, the massive blocks of the roof sufficed by their own weight to sustain their pyramidal converging tiers.

Sun-worship in Orissa formed one of the religions into which Buddhism disintegrated; a religion of the Vishnuvite type, identified with the Vishnuvite Dynasty, opposed to the dark rites of the Sivaite kings, and destined, after running a brief but beautiful course, to give place to the warmer form of Vishnuvism represented by Jagannath. From the earliest times, Vishnuvism and Sun-worship stand together in close affinity; indeed, in the

[291] See Elevation Plan of Jagannath, published elsewhere.

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Vedas, Vishnu, who afterwards developed into the second deity of the Hindu Triad, appears only as a form of the Sun.[292] We catch the last glimpse of Orissa Sun-worship in the Royal Annals of the fourteenth century; and after that date Jagannath remains supreme, or with only the languid rivalry of the Brahman colonies whom the Sivaite Line had settled on rent-free grants. But although it ceases to appear in the Temple archives or royal chronologies, Sun-worship did not wholly cease in Orissa, and I have described one of its secluded groups of votaries. Its general tendency, however, was to fly before the incoming superstitions of Bengal. To the southward the Sun-worshippers form a recognised class of Brahmans in the Districts adjoining Orissa; and when driven out of the plains it finds an asylum in the hills. I have mentioned that the low-caste highlanders to the north-west of Orissa will not break their fast till they catch a clear view of the deity, and Sun-worship still continues a specialty of the aboriginal races on the Central Plateau.[293]

Puri had asserted its fame as a sanctuary for a full century before Sun-worship disappears from the royal chronologies. We have seen in Chapter I how the fourth monarch of the Gangetic or Vishnuvite Line built the great Puri Temple, 1175-1198. Five years later, when the Muhammadans first conquered Lower Bengal, the Musalman annalists relate that the last Hindu King of that country fled to Jagannath, A.D. 1204, devoted his remaining years to religion, and died within the sacred precincts. The fame of the Sanctuary reached the distant Court at Gaur; and shortly after, 1212 A.D., the Persian Governor of Bengal swept down upon Orissa and extorted tribute.[294]

Buddhism, Sivaism, Sun-worship, thus each in turn became the prominent faith of the Province, and after a time gave place to some other creed. Jagannath was destined to hold a more permanent sway; and his priests, by skilfully working upon the Indian passion for pilgrimage, have for six centuries made Orissa the Terra Sancta of the Hindus. He owes his long reign to that plasticity which admits the whole Hindu pantheon within his walls, and which during six hundred years has ever instinctively accommodated itself to he changing spirit of the times. In the very act of superseding Sun-worship and Sivaism, his priests built temples to the wife of the All-Destroyer, and to the Sun, within his sacred Courts. A truly Aryan deity, he commanded the

292 Cowell's Appendix VII, to Elphinstone's *History of India*, 279, ed. 1866.

293 *Gazetteer of Central Provinces*, cxxiii, 275, etc., ed. 1870.

294 According to *Minhaj-i-Siraj*, Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Shah of Bengal defeated the King of Jaijnagar (Orissa) in 1212 and took tribute from him (see *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri* vol. i, p. 587). But the Chhatesvara temple inscription of King Anangabhima III (*J.A.S.B.* 1898) clearly mentions his war and victory over the Muslims.

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adoration of the upper classes. At the same time he enlisted the sympathies of the low castes by the equal sacrament of the Holy Food, and by a mythology which exalted a despised fowler into the revealer of the god. By the ingenious device of successive incarnations, Vishnu has made himself the centre of a whole cycle of religious systems, and secured the adoration of many races, belonging to widely separated stages of civilisation. Without losing his own identity, he assimilated the attributes of nine of the most popular gods, and his priests keep a tenth incarnation in their hands... In this way Vishnuvism has always been able to effect a revolution in religion according to due course of law. It has constantly gone on adding and superadding to its original ideal, building new temples to new gods without having to pull down the old ones, and combining the most radical innovations with the most unalterable conservatism.

Of this religious syncretism Jagannath forms the ultimate result. He has assimilated to himself a wider range of attributes than any of the gods of Rome or Greece ; wider by far, for example, than even Diana—the free-hearted huntress in Arcadia, the stately Asiatic deity at Ephesus, the Tauric Goddess, the Lydian Great Mother with her oriental mysticism and secret rites. In a former Chapter I have dwelt at such length on the catholicity of Jagannath, that few words must suffice here. While on the intellectual and spiritual side of his nature he claims to be identical with Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, he stands forth the hero of the Warrior Caste, as Rama in his seventh incarnation ; and has drawn to himself the sympathies of the pastoral races, as Krishna the eighth appearance of Vishnu upon earth. Krishna, the Divine Herdsman, is the incarnation which specially appeals to woodland or postoral peoples, and which has chiefly attracted them to Vishnu-worship. These races have always ranked below the Aryans, and are now despised as aborigines or inferior castes. Yet their allegiance to Vishnuvism has been skilfully obtained, by identifying one of their national deities with the bright Aryan god. On the Central Plateau, Krishna is the god of the pastoral races. He was the ancient object of adoration among the Shepherd Kings ;[295] and to this day, whenever a religious movement takes place among the low castes or aboriginal tribes, it is towards the Divine Herdsman that it gravitates. Such a revival took place half a century ago among the most despised race of the Central Provinces,[296] and I find a similar movement at present in propress among the wine-sellers and publicans of Eastern Bengal.[297]

[295] Grant's *Central Provinces*. Introd. lx., lxii., etc.

[296] *Idem*, cxxix. ; referred to at greater length in one of Carnac the Cotton Commissioner's *Papers*.

[297] The Suris of Faridpur, Dacca, etc. Hunter observed this movement during his tour in 1870.

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As Sivaism appealed to the terrors of the aboriginal races, and their craving after wild religious excitement and expiatory sacrifices, so Krishna-worship attracted their sympathies as foresters and herdsmen. These religions spring up wherever Hinduism subjugates the wild tribes. With them also is frequently Jainism, or some other form of the ancient Buddhistic faith; and the three distinct types may be found co-existing separately and inimically in the most secluded retreats of the Central Provinces.[298] Jagannath has had the art to concentrate these three types within his own walls, and has derived additional strength from each.

Nor is his empire based solely upon the superstitions of the populace. The religious history of India forms a phantasmagoria of shifting creeds, which struggle to show forth the One Supreme to mankind, each in turn revealing the central Unit at first in a bright light, which gradually becomes fainter and more faint until the original ideal fades away. The task of conceiving a Being absolute, infinite, and yet a personality, presents insuperable difficulties to unaided reason. Such attributes involve a contradiction in terms, which human speech finds itself powerless to handle, and which no arguments can smooth away. The religions of the ancient world accordingly oscillated between a too abstract conception of the infinity of God, and a too vivid realization of his personality. The Greeks grasped strongly at his personality, and became polytheists; the Hindus insisted too exclusively upon his infinity, and became pantheists; with an ultimate retreat into atheism, the highest pantheism of logical minds.[299] The earliest Indian thinkers struggled to project their minds beyond the practicable limits of religious thought, and to express in words that august primal Unit which combines the Absolute and the Infinite of European metaphysics. Such a flight was far beyond the popular apprehension, and the reformers who during the last six centuries from time to time revived the religious spirit in India, have more wisely submitted to the limits of religious thought. On the one hand, they have seen that the Infinite and Absolute One is a conception not to be explained by human speech, but to be silently and inconclusively pondered over by the human soul. On the other, they have felt that a practical popular faith must realize the personality as well as he infinity of God. They therefore surrounded the central idea with attributes; and these attributes being seized upon by the tropical multitude, have in time become the objects of popular adoration, to the exclusion of the Infinite

[298] Thus in Mandhata, an island in the Narbada. *Vide* Deputy Commissioner of Nimar's Article, *Gazetteer of Central Prov.*, pp. 257-265, ed. 1870.

[299] Mansel, following Hegel and Schleirmacher, has discussed well on this in his Bampton Lectures, I and V.

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Being whom they were intended only to shadow forth. Thus it results that no Indian reformation has been permanent. In each a process of materializing has soon begun, so that in the course of a few generations the original conception is lost sight of, and the necessity for a new reformation returns.

Jagannath has by his rare plasticity attracted to himself all the great Vishnuvite reformers during the last six hundred years.[300] Such reformations tried to bring back the populace to the worship of one God, under the name of Vishnu. Generally speaking, they did not absolutely deny the existence of the other deities of the Hindu pantheon, but represented them as emanations from Vishnu, the One Supreme. This arrangement allows of a wide catholicity. By making Brahma and Siva the offspring of Vishnu, it practically retains the orthodox triad, and merely transposes the chief seat of honour within it.[301] Jagannath does the same thing in a more practical way, and clothes this conception of a catholic reformation in its most material and most fascinating garb. His priests have, however, adopted the ignoble as well as the spiritual elements of the rival creeds, and the result is that jumble of superstitious rites with lofty conceptions which I have already described, and of which the Car Festival forms a stirking illustration. As the three blocks which serve for idols within the sanctuary are simple copies of the Buddhist triad,[302] so their Car Festival represents in a modern form the procession of the Sacred Tooth to its rural shrine.[303] This primitive ceremony of a monotheistic faith, which absolutely forbade the shedding of blood, and held sacred the life of the humblest insect, has for centuries been associated in the English mind with human immolation and suicide. How foreign such sacrifices were to the fundamental worship of Jagannath, I have already explained.[304] But popular beliefs generally rest upon some basis of truth; and before finally leaving the subject, it may be well to trace the growth of the evil reputation of Jagannath.

Gibbon has contrasted the free resort to suicide by the patriots of the ancient world, with 'the pious servitude' which Christianity has in this respect imposed upon modern Europe.[305]

[300] See Chapter I.

[301] This was the teaching of Madhvacharya, belonging to the thirteenth century A.D. Carmichael's *Vizagapatam*, p. 58; and the Madras Reprint of Buchanan's *Journey*, 1870.

[302] According to Cunningham Buddha, Dharmma, and Sangha, take the form Jagannath, Subhadra, and Balbhadra. These latter figures still represent the Brahmanical Avatar of Buddha in the Mathura and Benares Almanacs. See pages 34-35 and Cunningham upon Hiouen Thsang *Anc. Geog. India*, i. 510, ed. 1871.

[303] See *ante*, pp. 35-37.

[304] *ante*, p. 38.

[305] *Roman Empire*. Chap. xliv. vol. iv. p. 413, ed. 1788.

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But even these restraints were of slow growth and of uncertain efficacy, as the jurisprudence of the early Civilians and the suicidal mania of the heterodox African Christians in the fourth century attest.[306] The Eastern religions, as a rule, allow a man power over his own life, and some of the Indian creeds encourage an act which hastens the final absorption of the human soul into the Deity. Such a religious suicide stands out as one of the great facts in the early intercourse between the Indians and the Greeks; and the self-immolation of the Brahman Kalanos,[307] who truly prophesied the death of Alenxander, and then calmly mounted his own funeral pile, has left a lasting impress on Macedonian history. The tendency to such acts reaches its climax amid the frenzy of great religious processions. Among Indian processions, that of Jagannath stands first; and although the number of suicides, as registered by the dispassionate candour of English officials, has always been insignificant, and could at most occur but once a year, their fame made a deep impression upon early travellers. I have compiled an index to all such recorded cases,[308] and I find that the travellers who have had the most terrible stories to tell are the very ones whose narratives prove that they went entirely by hearsay, and could not possibly have themselves seen the Car Festival.

I am inclined to think, however, that the Vishnuvite reformation of the sixteenth century in Orissa[309] purged Jagannath of a multitude of Sivaite rites. These rites everywhere involve the outpouring of blood; and a drop of blood spilt within the Puri Temple would now pollute its whole precincts, with the priests, the worshippers, and the consecrated food. Yet it was not always so, as a Musalman writer attests.[310] 'In the temple,' he says, 'the Hindus inflict on themselves terrible wounds, or cut out their tongues; but if they rub their gashes on the idol, the wounds heal up.' Such practices had certainly ceased in 1580, when Fazl wrote; and the only vestige of them that now survives is the midnight sacrifice once a year to the stainless wife[311] of the All-Destroyer, in a shrine apart from the Temple, but within the sacred enclosure. Jagannath has, in short, paid the penalty of his constant compromises with the viler phases of Hinduism. He has included every deity within his walls, and he has been

[306] Compare the Christian candour of Milman, *Hist. Christ.* ii. 309 (1867), and more briefly *Hist. Latin Christ.* i. 237 (1867), with the somewhat malicious minuteness of Gibbon, *Roman Empire* ii. 300-304, ed. 1781.

[307] In Sanskrit, Kalyana.

[308] By Oderic, A.D. 1331; Conti, *circ.* 1400; the Persian Haft Iklim, MS. *circ.* 1550; Early Travels in India, 1565; manrique, 1612; Bruton, 1632; Hamilton, 1708; Cubero, Murray, etc.

[309] 1485-1533. See *ante*, p. 20.

[310] The author of the *Haft Iklim*, a Persian MS. of the time of Akbar.

[311] Vimala.

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held responsible for the accumulated abominations of all. The innocent garden excursion of the Buddhists grew into a frenzied procession among a people who reckoned life cheap, and the misrepresentations of the Muhammadans have conspired, with the credulity of travellers and the piety of missionaries, to make the name of Jagannath synonymous with organized self-slaughter. But the historian cannot help contrasting the facts as calmly recorded on the spot, with the popular representations of English literature. 'During four years that I have witnessed the ceremony,' writes the Commissioner of Orissa, not long after the Province passed under our rule, 'three cases only of this revolting species of immolation have occurred; one of which, I may observe, is doubtful, and should probably be ascribed to accident. In the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from excruciating complaints, and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burthen of life, in preference to other modes of suicide.'[312] Claudius Buchanan witnessed the CAR FESTIVAL of 1806, but even his clerical denunciations do not record a single case of self-slaughter (Diary, 20th June 1806).

I have gone over the Ms. archives from the day we obtained Orissa, and I can bear witness to the general truth of these words. Compare with them the Jagannath of George Cruickshank's pencil, as described by the great humorist and moralist of our day:[313] 'It is called the Gin Jagannath, and represents a hideous moving palace, with a reeking still at the roof, and vast gin-barrels for wheels, *under which unhappy millions are crushed to death*. An immense black cloud of desolation covers over the country through which the gin monster has passed, dimly looming through the darkness whereof you see an agreeable prospect of gibbets with men dangling, burnt houses, etc. The vast cloud comes sweeping on in the wake of the horrible body-crusher.' Or let a minor artist speak: 'The Jagannath on his great car towered there a grim load. Seeing him draw nigh, burying his broad wheels in the oppressed soil, I, the prostrate votary, felt beforehand the annihilating craunch.'[314] We complain that the Hindus do not appreciate our English institutions or accept our beliefs. Do we rightly understand theirs?

The City of Temples and the Metropolis of Priests, on the two opposite sides of the Province, attest the piety of the Orissa Kings. Cuttack, their central capital, just below the gorge through which the Mahanadi issues upon the plains, formed an entrepot for the trade between the Delta and the hill country, and repressed the warlike highland races. But a fourth great city flourished under the Hindu dynasties, and Tamluk, now an

[312] Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. p. 324. Serampur, 1825.
[313] Thackeray's Critical Reviews. *Works*, vol. xxii. p. 320, ed. 1869.
[314] Charlotte Bronte's *Villette*, p. 475, ed. 1867.

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inland river village of Bengal, formed the maritime capital of Orissa. One local legend relates how its kings conquered the latter Province in pre-historic times, and gave their name to a great District within it; while a later tradition ascribes the foundation of Tamluk to the monarchs of Morbhanj,[315] the largest and most powerful of the Orissa Tributary States. Certain it is that a most intimate connection subsisted between the two. The first king of Tamluk bore the title of 'The Peocock-Banner,'[316] and begot a long line of thirty-two princes of the warrior caste.[317] This dynasty bore the heraldic device of the Peacock exactly as the Morbhanj family does at the present day, and it was succeeded by another line of four PEACOCK KINGS who invaded Tamluk from the Morbhanj State, thus giving rise to the later legend. The great district of Midnapur now stretches between Tamluk and the Morbhanj State; but the heraldic bird of the latter, the Peacock, still surmounts the temple at Tamluk, and the Morbhanj Rajas long retained property in the intermediate tract.[318]

Tamluk figures as a kingdom of great antiquity in the sacred writings of the Hindus, and has been identified with the wars of the epic poems.[319] But the Sanskrit annalists had an unconquerable aversion to facts, and no practical knowledge can be elicited from them about Tamluk, except that it existed. It is as a Buddhist port that Tamluk emerges upon history. The Chinese pilgrim[320] who visited India in 399-414 A.D. found it a maritime settlement of the Buddhists, where he remained for two years transcribing the sacred books, and whence he took shipping to Ceylon. Two hundred and fifty years later, a yet more celebrated pilgrim from China[321] speaks of Tamluk as still an important Buddhist harbour, with ten Buddhist monasteries, a thousand monks, and a pillar by King Asoka, two hundred feet high. The adjacent country lay low, but its extreme

[315] Properly spelt Mayur-bhanj, ruled by the Peacock-Family. See *Statistical Account of the Tributary States*, App. IV.

[316] Mayurbhanj and Sikhidhwaj.

[317] Kshattriyas, all bearing Aryan names, and apparently representing a very early Aryan migration, who spread through Bengal into Orissa, colonizing Tamluk on their way, and thus supplying a basis for the first of the traditions mentioned above. Hunter collected the local legends and dynastic lists of Tamluk, by means of a Pandit whom he sent into that part of the country.

[318] The Pargana of Nayabasan (Nayabhushan) belonged to Mayurbhanj. This was recently sold to the Government of West Bengal by the present Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.

[319] Supposed to be referred to as Ratnavati in the Kasidas' Mahabharata, Aswamedh-parva. The local name of Ratnavati still survives at Tamluk, with a modern legend to explain it.

[320] *Fa Hian;* translated into French by Remusat, and thence into English by Laidley. Calcutta, 1848.

[321] *Hiouen Thsang,* 629-645 A.D. Vie par Stanislaus Julien, p. 183. Paris, 1853.

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fertility made up for its damp, marshy character. Tamluk itself, 'situated on a bay, could be approached both by land and water, and contained stores of rare and precious merchandise, and a wealthy population. Some of them follow the true faith; others the false. Besides the Buddhist monasteries, there are also fifty temples of the heretical Hindu gods.'[322] Here the pilgrim learnt about Ceylon, and the perils of the southern voyage. I have already mentioned that the Yavana colonization of the Indian Archipelago probably started from Tamluk in the first century A.D., and the Asoka pillar alluded to by the Chinese pilgrim attests its existence in the third century B.C. Even at this day, the ancient Buddhist port of Orissa bears traces of its origin. In 1781 an English official reported a local tradition to Government, 'that Tamluk was originally a Buddhist town, and a large emporium of eastern trade, and had many fine monasteries. It is said that there are some Hindus there who bury their dead after the Buddhist (and Yavana) fashion.'[323]

Even after the final triumph of Hinduism over the ancient Buddhistic faith, Tamluk continued an entrepot for maritime trade. The sea-going castes asserted their supremacy, and on the extinction of the PEACOCK DYNASTY placed a line of FISHER-KINGS[324] on the throne. The first[325] of this family also came from Orissa, and settled four hundred families of his Orissa kindred on the royal lands. The new dynasty, as usual, set up a new worship, and Tamluk has a legend of the finding of its god, framed on exactly the same basis as the Puri tradition of the discovery of Jagannath, with the changes in scenery and costume necessary for a maritime people. As, in the jungly district of Southern Orissa, the deity who afterwards obtained the devotion of the Hindus was originally the forest god of a poor Fowler; so in the seaboard tract of Northern Orissa, now Bengal, the deity[326] who became supreme was the goddess of a poor fisherman. In the first case it was a block of wood, in the second a block of stone: in both there is a legend of its being worshipped in secret by its original low-caste owner, with its subsequent discovery by the Aryans; and in both the Hindu

[322] Documents Geographiques, p. 450. The kingdom of Tamluk was then about two hundred and fifty miles in circumference.

[323] Vansittart's Report of 1871. H. V. Bayley's MS. Memorandum, p. 128. O. R.

[324] Kaibarttas.

[325] By name Kalu Bhuya, whose twenty-fifth descendant was then holding the Raj, according to a list drawn up for Hunter on the spot. But a list referred to by Bayley makes the list much longer, the forty-second of the line dying in 1404, and the forty-eighth being deposed in 1654. MS. Memo. p. 129. O. R.

[326] Barga-bhima now identified with Kali or Pathu Parvati, as the Puri block became Jagannath.

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priests eventually stuck arms and legs into the shapeless wooden or monolithic stump. In both, the miraculously found deity became an object of pilgrimage. Orissa and its maritime capital (now in Bengal) alike formed centres of Buddhism, and were originally hateful to the Brahmans; but under the new religion, texts were invented or interpolated to give an ancient sanctity to both.[327] The very name of Tamluk,[328] which bears witness to its ancient degradation, has been converted by a legendary interpretation into a title of honour; and in spite of the remarkable fewness of Brahmans in the neighbourhood, of the overwhelming population of low-caste fishermen,[329] and of its long subjection to FISHER-KINGS, Tamluk has become a place of pilgrimage.

Most of the Tamluk legends, however, refer to making money; and appropriately enough in a commercial maritime city, water has generally something to do with the process. A great merchant, by name the Lord of Wealth,[330] sailing in his ships to Tamluk, found a well or lake that turned everything into gold. He accordingly bought up all the brass vessels in the market, transmuted them into the precious metal, sailed to Ceylon, where he sold them to the natives, and returning, built the great Tamluk temple which is generally ascribed to the first of the FISHER-KINGS. Another sea-going merchant found the PHILOSOPHER'S STONE, probably foreign commerce; and his wealth attracted the envy of the king, who insisted upon its being made over to him. The upshot of the story is, that the diligent

[237] As regards Orissa, see beginning of this chapter. As regards Tamluk, '*Ahante kathayishyami yatra nasyati patakam; Asti Bharatbarshasya dakshinasyan, mahapurim; Tamraliptasya kastasyan gudham tirthavaram Vaset; Tatra snatwa chiradeva samyak yasyeti matpurim.*' 'I will tell you where your sins will be destroyed. There is a great place of pilgrimage on the south of India, an ablution in which saves a man from his sins.'

[328] Its Sanskrit name, as written by Hunter's Pandit, and the Brahmanda Purana, and other writings which he quotes, is Tamolipta, which he derives from Tamas+lipta, literally, stained with darkness or sin. A legend relates that it took its name from the fact that Vishnu, in the form of Kalki, having got very hot in destroying the demons, dropped perspiration at this spot, which accordingly became stained with the holy sweat (or dirt) of the god. The word appears in the itineraries of the Buddhist pilgrims from China as Tan-mo-li-ti, derived by Julien and Cunningham from the Pali form of the Sanskrit Tamralipta, which is also explained by a local tradition, that a Kshatriya king of the name of Tamdradhwaj (literally Copper-Banner) once reigned there. Tamolipta is the name which the Bengali Dictionary, *Sabdartha Ratnamala*, gives for Tamluk.

[329] The details of Tamluk, and its curious temple with triple walls, are given in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Midnapur*, to which District Tamluk belongs. The Kaibartta, or Fisher-caste, numbers more than eight thousand families. They cultivate land, engage in commerce, act as petty officials, and, in short, constitute almost the whole of the population.

[330] Dhanapati. His son Srimanta was also a distinguished navigator to Ceylon; and besides the local traditions which Hunter's Pandit collected at Tamluk, their voyages are celebrated by an old Bengali poem, the Kavi Kankan-Chandi.

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trader could not transfer the source of his riches to the slothful monarch: the shipowner was drowned, and the king found himself no richer than before. Indigo, mulberry, and silk, the costly products of Bengal and Orissa, form the traditional articles of export from ancient Tamluk; and although the sea has long since left it, the town continued until 1869 the great maritime outlet from Orissa. In 635 B.C. the Chinese traveller found the city washed by the ocean; the earliest Hindu tradition places the sea eight miles off, and it is now fully sixty miles distant. The process of land-making at the mouths of the Ganges has gone slowly but steadily on, gradually pushing out silt-banks and sandy ridges, which by degrees have settled into solid land, and left Tamluk an inland village on the Rupnarayan River. The peasants, in digging wells or tanks, come upon sea-shells at a depth of ten to twenty feet; and an almost forgotten name of the town, the MINE OF GEMS,[331] alone commemorates its former wealth. The constant changes of the river, and its all-covering alluvion, have buried the ancient city. Even its principal temple is now partly underground, and the remains of old masonry, wells, and houses may be found at a depth of eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface.[332]

Although finally transferred in 1725 to Bengal,[333] Tamluk bears witness to its ancient connection with Orissa by its legends, by its local customs, and by its vernacular speech. The District which separates it still retains the name of the MIDDLE COUNTRY;[334] and although we have introduced Bengali as the language of official life, a mixed *patois* and a compound written character of Bengali and Uriya until very recently prevailed in Tamluk. Many Orissa idioms survive, and the surnames of the people bear witness to their Orissa origin.[335] The children in some village schools[336] of Midnapur district learn Bengali in

[331] Ratnakar.

[332] Hunter trusts for these measurements to a Pandit, Nabin Chandra Bandopadhyaya, whom he sent to make investigations. He also expresses his obligations to Jadab Chandra Ghosh, the then Deputy-Collector of Tamluk.

[333] Midnapur formed part of Jaleswar Sarkar under the early Mughals. Murshid Quli Khan annexed Midnapur from Orissa to Bengal in 1707. Jaleswar Sarkar was divided into four-subdistricts—Jaleswar proper, Maljhetia, Mazkuri and Goalpara, and Tamluk formerly belonged to Goalpara. In 1728 it formed part of Hugli. Bayley's M. S. Memorandum, pp. 92, 128, etc. In 1760 Mir Kasim gave Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagang to the East India Company and in 1765 when the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted, the Midnapur portion was considered to be Orissa.

[334] Madhyades, the District of Midnapur.

[335] For example, Mahapatra, Behera, Jena, Mahanti (Maiti), Patnaik, Panda, Samanta, Santra, etc., all of which are Oriya. Some Kaibartta settlements from Tamluk have imported these family names into the 24 Parganas, and as high as Hugli or even Bardwan.

[336] Pathsalas. The English system of Public Instruction rapidly destroyed such local distinctions.

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the morning, and Uriya in the afternoon. They still adhere to the Orissa Almanac, counting the last day of the Bengali mouth as the first of the next one, and beginning their new year according to the Orissa style.[337] Until 1869, when the Kendrapara Canal opened out the Orissa seaboard, Tamluk continued to monopolize by long land route through Midnapur the whole exports of Orissa, although it had ceased to be able to send them out to sea.

The ruin of Tamluk as a seat of maritime commerce affords an explanation of how the Bengalis and Oriyas ceased to be a sea-going people. In the Buddhist era they sent warlike fleets to the east and the west, and colonized the islands of the Archipelago. Even Manu, in his inland centre of Brahmanism at the far north-west, while forbidding such enterprises, betrays the fact of their existence. He makes a difference in the hire[338] of river boats and of sea-going ships, and admits that the advice of 'merchants experienced in making voyages on the sea, and in observing different countries,' may be of use to priests and kings. But such voyages were associated chiefly with the Buddhist era, and became alike hateful to the Brahmans and impracticable to a deltaic people, whose harbours were left high and dry by the land-making rivers and the receding sea. Religious prejudices combined with the changes of nature to make the Bengalis unenterprising upon the ocean. But what they have been, they may under a higher civilisation again become. The unwarlike Armenians whom Lucullus and Pompey blushed to conquer, suplied, seven centuries later, the heroic troops who annihilated the Persian monarchy in the height of its power.[339] To any one acquainted with the revolutions of races, it must seem mere impatience ever to despair of a people; and in maritime courage, as in other national virtues, I firmly believe that the inhabitants of Bengal have a new career before them under British rule.

The foregoing sketch of Orissa under Indian rule has occupied itself chiefly with the incoming of new races from the north, and with the rise and fall of their successive creeds. The wars and ambitions of princes dwindle into their proper insignificance when viewed through a vista stretching backwards two thousand years. Those to whom a list of kings and dates may be useful, will find them set forth with the utmost attainable precision in the Appendix. The silt of the Delta has long ago buried the palaces of the monarchs, but it has spared the temples of their gods. Rightly to understand the intensely religious, or,

[337] Thus, when Baisakh has thirty days, they count the 30th Baisakh as the 1st of Jyaistha; and their year ends on the twelfth day of the Sraban moon, as in Orissa, and not on the last of Chaitra, as in Bengal.

[338] Chap. iv. Sloka, 406. Calc. Ed.

[339] Under the Byzantine Heraclius, 623-625 A.D.

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as some might call it, the superstitious nature of the Orissa peasant, and the monastic institutions which still cover the Province, we must remember that his sole monuments of the past are the edifices of his deities, and that the whole background of time is for him filled up with dim august revolutions of creeds. I propose, however, before entering upon the next stage of Orissa history, very briefly to exhibit the statistics and resources of the Province under the two dynasties whose works this chapter has described.

Whatever may have been the extent of the mythical realm of Kalinga which stretched down the coast from the Hugli to the Godavari, Orissa under the Lion-Line (474-1132 A.D.) pretended to much more modest dimensions. It formed a strip of about 185 miles long by 60 broad, extending from the Kansbans River, a little to the south of Balasor City,[340] to the Rasakulia River in Ganjam District, and inland from the sea to the Tributary State of Dhenkanal. This little kingdom of eleven thousand square miles included all the richest part of the present Province, and yielded a revenue of £406,250 a year.[341] The founder of

[340] For the position of the Kansbans, see Hunter's *Statistical Account of Balasor,* Appendix II. p. 35.

[341] Expressed in the Palm-leaf records as fifteen lakhs of Marhas. (*Purushottama Chandrika,* 36-40. See also *As. Res.* xv. 271.) Hunter's calculation is as follows: The Marha was an Oriya weight equal to one-fourth of a Karisha; therefore, 4 marhas=I karisha; I karisha=I tola; I tola of silver=I rupee. Fifteen lakhas of marhas therefore equal (1,500,000 ÷ 4) 375,000 tolas or rupee-weights of gold. For ascertaining the ratio of gold to silver in Orissa in the twelfth century, no materials exist. Cunningham informs, however, that in the thirteenth century, under Jalal-ud-din and Ala-ud-din, the proportion in Hindustan was I of gold to 10 of silver. Under Akbar in the sixteenth century, the official ratio at the mint was 1 to 9·4. (Abul Fazl. See also the elaborate proofs in *The Pathan Kings of Delhi,* by Edward Thomas, p. 424. 1871.) In the seventeenth century it again returned to 1 to 10 (*Purchas.* i. 217); and as the East India Company poured in its yearly freights of silver, the proportion gradually rose in the eighteenth century to 1 to 14. Sir James Steuart speaks of this as the ratio 'hitherto adopted.' (Principles of Money applied to Bengal, private printed for the East India Company. Small quarto, 1772). In 1766 the ratio fixed by Government was 2462·88 grains of pure silver to 149·72 grains of pure gold, or 1 of gold to 16·45 of silver. In 1769 the Bengal authorities readjusted it at 2814·72 grains of silver to 190·086 grains of pure gold, or 1 of gold to 14·8 of silver. Both these ratios were, however, severely criticised by Sir James Steuart (1772), and Adam Smith estimates the proportion in India (1784) at 1 to 15. But in the parts of Asia which were not affected by the enormous importation of silver from Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the ratio of gold to silver remained more stationary. In the middle of the last century the value in Japan was 1 to 8, while 'in China and the greater part of the other markets of India, ten, or at most twelve, ounces of silver will purchase an ounce of gold.' (*Wealth of Nations,* 1784, pp. 95, 97; J. R. M'Culloch's edition).

All the evidence, therefore, goes to show that the safest ratio to take for gold to silver in India in the twelfth century is 1 to 10. Therefore 1,500,000 marhas, or 375,000 tolas of gold, equal 3,750,000 tolas or rupee-weights of silver. But the current rupee contains only 165 grains of

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the Vishnuvite or Gangetic Dynasty in 1132 added to it his paternal southern domain, from the Godavari River northwards to Orissa. This strip had, as we have seen, formed the maritime part of the kingdom of Proli ; the inland mountainous region having been granted away to his brother.[342] The first of the of Gangetic line also extended Orissa on the northwards to Tamluk, thereby restoring the limits of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga from the Hugli to the Godavari River. He or his successors afterwards pushed their territory inland to Bód, which still continues the westernmost of the Orissa Tributary States.

This vast kingdom included three distinct tracts: (1) The Central region, comprising the present Province of Orissa, two hundred miles long by one hundred and twenty broad, or twenty-four thousands square miles.[343] (2) The narrow strip, with the sea on one side and the mountains on the other, running south from the Chilka Lake to the Godavari,[344] three hundred miles in length, with an average of forty in breadth, and an area of twelve thousand square miles. (3) On the opposite or northern extremity, the kingdom extended to the Hugli; that is to say, it embraced the present District of Midnapur, a tract of three thousand five hundred square miles.[345] Orissa, therefore, under the Gangetic Dynasty (1132-1532 A.D.), consisted of three Provinces, consisting respectively of 3,500, 23,907, and 12,000 square miles, according to British surveys, or a total of 39,407 square miles. The third monarch of the line, between 1175 and 1202 1202 A.D., measured his kingdom with reeds[346] 'from the Hugli to the Godavai, and from the sea to the frontier of Sônpur.' About 1820, at a time when we did not ourselves know the extent of the country, the British Commissioner converted the

pure silver instead of a full tola of 180 grains, and it is necessary to add the difference of 15/180, or 1/12, to the sum, in order to get it in current rupees. The revenue of Orissa in the twelfth century under the Lion-line, therefore, was 3,750,000 plus 1/12=Rs. 4,602,500, or, at the nominal exchange of two shillings per rupee, £406,250. It is possible that the value of gold, as expressed in silver, was less in Orissa, whose rivers produced more gold, than in Upper India; but 1 to 10 is the safest ratio to adopt.

[342] *ante*, p. 119.

[343] The exact area according to Hunter is 23,907 square miles.

[344] The southern capital of the early princes of the Gangetic Line was Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam.

[345] The exact area of the present Midnapur District is 4836 square miles, but it includes several Fiscal Divisions that belonged to Bengal and not to Orissa. The early Oriya part is, as nearly as may be, 3500 square miles.

[346] The land settlement of Orissa was made under the Ganga ruler Ananga Bhimadev III who ruled from 1212 to 1238 A.D. Lands were measured by a standard rod, known as the Nala, which was 10 ft. 8 inches in length.

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native survey of the twelfth century into English measures, and gave the result at forty thousand square miles. Recent surveys return the total at 39,407! Such marvellous accuracy bears witness, along with the survey of Todar Mall in he sixteenth century, to the immemorial skill of the Hindus in land measurements.

This vast kingdom yielded a nominal revenue of £947,917[347] a year; but the southern part of it, which stretched down the coast from Orissa Proper to the Godavari, gave endless trouble, and was a source of weakness rather than of strength. As early as 1164 A.D.[348] the Southern Strip rebelled, and a century and a half later the Orissa Kings had to call in the aid of the rising Muhammadan power[349] to subdue their refractory southern vassals. One monarch of the Gangetic Line was taken captive and beheaded in the attempt.[350] Nevertheless, the Orissa princes continued to exercise supremacy down the maritime strip until the beginning of the sixteeen century. They built temples, gave grants of land to Brahmans, and left their names in the local lists of kings as far south as the Godavari.[351] The revenue-yielding part, or Orissa Proper, was substantially the same size as at present. But although the southern strip along the Madras coast did not pay, the claims to it were fondly cherished ; and a southern expedition forms the stock incident in the reign of almost all great monarchs of the Gangetic Line, from its commencement in 1132 to its extinction in 1532. But the records of the struggle yield nothing of interest to the historian, and the native annalists have enveloped the whole in a mist of exaggeration and falsehood. They gravely relate that the last of the

[347] 3,550,000 marhas of gold. *Purushottama Chandrika*, and *As. Res.* xv.

[348] There was no rebellion in the South in 1164 A.D. The rebellion of the Reddis, referred to by Hunter took place in 1381 A.D. during the reign of Narasimhadev IV (1378-1405 A.D.). According to *Velugotivamsavali*, a work of doubtful authority, the Velama Chief Singama II defeated the Gajapati King of Orissa.

[349] Hunter here probably refers to Prataprudradev (1497-1540 A.D.) who, in his war against Krishnadev Ray, the Emperor of Vijayanagar, is said to have taken the help of Mallukhan and Uddanda Khan, officers, alleged to be serving under the Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur. See P. Mukherjee, *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa* p. 80.

[350] Hunter confounds the Surya Vamsi Gajapati kings with the Ganga line of Kings. But no ruler of these dynasties, is known to have been captured and beheaded by the enemy. He probably refers here to the fate of Prataprudra's warlike son Virabhadra, who was taken captive at Kondavidu by Krishnadev Ray in June 1515 and afterwards committed suicide in December 1516.

[351] The extent of the Orissa Empire under Kapilendradev (1435-66 A.D.) the first Surya Vamsi Gajapati, was from the Ganges in the north to the Kaveri in the south.

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Gangetic Line[352] led a great force to the nrrow straits which divide India from Ceylon.

A narrative of confused and miscellaneous fighting is not history.[353] Three centuries of expeditions to the southward have left but a single story worth preserving. The King of Orissa, Purushottama Deva (1479-1504 A.D.),[354] having heard of the beauty of the Lotus-Eyed daughter of the Conjevaram Prince, sent a rich embassy to ask her in marriage. But the Conjevaram monarch worshipped another god,[355] and swore that he never would give his daughter to the Orissa King who acted as sweeper before Jagannath. So the Orissa Prince gathered his armies together, and marched southward to lay siege to Conjevaram; but his troops fled in the battle, and he came back in sorrow to Puri, and threw himself at the feet of his god. Then the good Lord Jagannath had pity on him, and told him to lead another army to the southwards, and that a sure sign would be given him. Hearing this, he rose up hastily, and again called his captains together, and they marched southwards, praising the Lord of the World. And as they marched they looked out for the sure sign; but no sign was given them, until the hearts of the captains and of the companies began to sink within them.

Yet the King believed that the good Lord Jagannath would not forget his servants. And one evening, as he halted on the banks of the Chilka near the boundary of his kingdom, pondering on many things, a maiden suddenly stood before him with a ring in her hand. 'This ring,' she said, 'the good god sends to thee, O Prince! Two horsemen, one on a black steed, the other on a white, gave it to me for thee, and rode on to the south-wards.' Then the King knew that Jagannath had remembered his servant, and that the two riders were the good Lord himself and his brother.

So the captains with their companies marched southwards

[352] Hunter mistakes Prataprudradev (1497-1540 A.D.) as the last of the Ganga kings of Orissa and states "He is popularly called the last, as his two sons Kaluya and Katha-ruya only reigned a year apiece." Pratap-rudra is, however, the last of the Surya Vamsi rulers who ruled after the extinction of the Ganga dynasty. His Anantavaram plates declare that "Kumara Hamvira" one of his uncles "carried his arms successfully to the southern sea, where he washed his swords, stained with the blood of the enemy king." See procedings, Indian History Congress 1945—pp. 208-209.

[353] The obscure revolutions and uninstructive struggles on the southern strip between Orissa and the Godavari are set forth in a desultory way, but with many interesting details, in the Mackenzie MSS.; more succinctly in the *Purushottama Chandrika*, and, so far as his materials permitted, in Stirling's Essay, *As. Res.* xv. Stirling's list of kings is defective, but a complete one will be found in Appendix I.

[354] The period of his reign is 1467-1497 A.D.

[355] Ganesa.

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glad of heart, and after sore war they put to flight the Conjevaram King who worshipped another god, and took his daughter captive. But the Orissa Prince, in his wrath at the slaughter of his people and the contempt shown to the good Lord Jagannath, swore that the lady should be married to a real sweeper, and commanded his minister to wed her to a slave. Yet the soldiers, when they saw her beauty, forgot their dead comrades and their own wounds, and had pity on her, an said, 'Surely this lady is fit even for our lord the King; surely our lord does foolishly to make her a scavenger's wife.' But the old minister spoke not a word, waiting patiently till the time of Lord Jagannath's Procession should come round; and meanwhile he kept the Princess shut up with the ladies of his own palace. When the SUMMER FESTIVAL was come, the good Lord Jagannath sat aloft in his Car, with the priests and the people thronging round, singing his praises and blessing him, and tugging at the ropes; and the King humbly swept the dust off the road in front of the god who had given him the victory. Then the aged minister brought forth the maiden, and placing her side by side with the King in the face of all the people, said, 'Take, oh my King, her whom the good Lord Jagannath has sent. My lord swore in his wrath that I should marry the maiden to a sweeper of the street, and I give her to thee, my King.' So the King wedded the maiden, and signs and wonders attended their married life. But the queeen died young, and her son, a man of great wisdom, reigned in his father's stead.[356]

Under this son (1504-1532)[357] the fortunes of the Gangetic house culminated. Besides his mythical expedition southwards to the narrow seas which separate India from Ceylon, he has left architectural monuments at the two extremities of Orissa,[358] and the final extirpation of Buddhism belongs to his reign. In his earlier years he leaned to the Buddhist Creed, and the Palm-leaf Records relate the disputations and trials of magical skill by which the Brahman priests at length converted him to their faith.[359] We have already seen how, under his reign, that great stirring of the popular heart took place which ended in the Vishnuvite reformation.[360] For ewelve years the holy Chaitanya preached the new creed, silenced the sluggish Sivaite priesthood, and strove with spiritual weapons against the King himself, till the monarch forgot the pomp of his throne in the humility of a

[356] For this story see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. xxx. No. 1.

[357] He is Prataprudradev (1497-1540 A.D.)

[358] His most important building was the Baraha Temple at Jajpur.

[359] This should be taken merely as a traditonal account, and not as historical fact.

[360] *ante*, p. 20.

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disciple.[361] In 1527 the apostle was mysteriously rapt away from mortal sight, and five years later his royal convert followed him.[362]

His death in 1532 marks the end of the Gangetic Line. Of the thirty-two sons whom he left behind, two succeeded, for a year apiece, to a throne which brought only a more conspicuous and more speedy death. The minister murdered sooner or later every male member of the family, and seized the kingdom.[363] The Muhammadans, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, had long been oppressing Orissa, now closed in upon the usurper and his successors. After twenty-four years of confusion, the fierce Afghan Kala Pahar swept like a wave across the Province, throwing down the temples, smashing the idols, driving Jagannath himself to hide his head in the slime of the Chilka, and exterminating that last of the independent dynasties of Orissa.

Practically, the revenue-paying parts of Orissa under the Gangetic Dynasty stretched from the Hugli to the Chilka, and from the sea to the Tributary States; a compact territorial entity of tweny-four thousand square miles. The Province continues the same size to this day, having lost three thousand square miles on the north, towards the Hugli, and gained about an equal extent on the west, towards Central India. In the twelfth century, when the Gangetic Line obtained the kingdom, it yielded a revenue of £406,250[364] a year. Besides the doubtful southern strip, they added 12,000 square miles of unnproductive Hill Territory; and when in the sixteenth century they sunk beneath the Musalmans, the revenue remained about £435,000. An early Muhammadan geographer of the sixteenth century gives the income of the parts of Orissa already subjugated by the Musalman arms at £368,333;[365] and the official survey made by Akbar's minister *circ.* 1580, gives the entire revenue of the Province, including the tribute from the Hill States, at £435,319.[366] As the

[361] The only source of this account is some of the works of the Vaishnava poets belonging to the Gaudiya School. As the products of a highly emotional religion these works have little historical value.

[362] Srichaitanya had a mysterious demise in 1533 and Prataprudra died in 1540.

[363] He is Govind Vidyadhar, who usurped the throne in 1541-42 A.D.

[364] 1,500,000 marahs of gold. See note 341. Hunter gives here the following statistical account of Orissa of his time. "The area was only 11,000 square miles; but of the territory since added to it to make up the present Province, about 12,000 square miles are Hill States paying a tribute of only about £6000 a year. The few hundred square miles added on the north in Balasor are more productive, and the total revenue of the Province may now be put down at £450,000."

[365] Sicca Rupees 3,400,000, or Company's Rupees 3,683,333. *Haft Iklim*, a Persian MS., *apud* Blochmann.

[366] 160,733,237 dams, which, at the official rates of conversion under Akbar, equal Sicca Rupees 4,018,330, or Company's Rupees 4,353,191. Prinsep's *Tables;* Thomas' *Pathan Kings; As. Res.* xv.

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Muhammadans more firmly established their power, they gradually increased the taxation, and in the seventeenth century a detailed list of the Orissa Fiscal Divisions shows a revenue of £537,495.[367] However the revenues might be deranged from year to year by tumult or rebellion, the nominal demand remained the same in the Imperial Account-Books; and the Pere Thieffenthaler, amid the Marhatta anarchy of the eighteenth century, was still informed that the Province yielded £570,750.[368]

The revenue under the Gangetic Line (1132-1532 A.D.), its last independent dynasty, may therefore be set down at £435,000 a year from the twenty-four thousand square miles of Orissa Proper. The southern strip had long ceased to yield any income to the Orissa Kings. The present Province, comprising an equal area, yields to the British Government, in round numbers, £450,000.[369] But while the actual revenue remains about the same, its purchasing power has completely altered. Under the Hindu dynasty, it sufficed to maintain a gorgeous Court, a vast army, innumerable trains of priests, and to defray the magnificent public works of the Gangetic Kings. Under the English it barely pays the cost of administering the Province. The charges for collecting the revenue and protecting person and property amount to £339,696; the interest on one of the local public works, the Orissa Canals, comes to £65,000 a year;[370] a single native regiment at Cuttack costs £17,000; and a petty balance of £28,000 is all that remains over after paying the merely local charges of holding the Province. Orissa contributes scarcely anything to the general expense of government. It does not pay its share of interest on the public debt; it contributes nothing to the cost of defending the Empire; and hardly does more than support the charges of the local administration. Under the Hindu dynasty, the same revenue sufficed to support an adminisration infinitely more minute, and, as regards its higher officials, infinitely higher paid. None of the English governing body in Orissa ever hopes to make a fortune; under the Hindu Princes, Government employ was synonymous with assured opulence. Sixteen great Ministers regulated the kingdom, with seventy-two Deputies, and thirty-six separate Departments of State. Under

[367] Sicca Rupees 4,961,497, or Company's Rupees 5,374,955, under Shah Jahan, 1627-1658. *As. Res.* xv. 213.

[368] *Selon Manouchi. As. Res.* xv. 212. This sum may possibly have included outstanding arrears. Stirling, without stating any grounds, conjectures that it included also the revenue of the Northern Circars; but such a conjecture is opposed to the historical facts of the time, and to the recorded statistics about the Orissan revenue.

[369] The area then was 23,907 square miles, but it lost the fertile tract towards the Hugli, and included in place of it an addition to its hill territory. In 1870 the total revenue was £464,861, but this included the extraordinary income-tax. £450,000 is a fair average in round numbers.

[370] 1¼ millions sterling had already been spent on 31st March 1871.

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the British administration, the revenue of Orissa with difficulty maintains seven hundred sepoys; under the Hindu Princes it supported, besides a peasant militia of 300,000 men, a regular army of 50,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 2500 elephants. About a vast militia being attached to the soil there can be no doubt; and if Hindu chroniclers have magnified the number of the regular troops, we know from the Moslem annalists, that the Orissa King could at a moment's warning take the field with 18,000 horse and foot. But the Public Works of the Hindu Dynasty attest the magnitude of their resources in a way that admits of no dispute. Thirty or forty thousand pounds were not considered extravagant for an ordinary temple. The accumulations of one monarch[371] are stated at £1,296,750,[372] and from this he set apart £406,250[373] for the holy edifice of Jagannath. A similar magnificence surrounded the private life of the Orissa Kings. Their five royal residences (*kataks*) still live in popular tradition; and although the story of the Prince[374] who died just as he had married his sixty-thousandth wife is doubtless a fable, yet it is a fable that could only be told of a great and luxurious court.

How came it that the same amount of revenue which made the Orissa Kings so rich, now leaves the English governors of the Province so poor? I have already shown that the great influx of silver which European trade poured into India, so decreased the value of that metal that it sank from 1-10th the value of gold in the twelfth century, to 1-14th or 1-15th six hundred years later. But even this decrease would not explain the affluence of the Hindu rulers of Orissa as compared with the poverty of the English. It is when we consider the value of silver as expressed, not in gold, but in food, that the explanation becomes clear. Nothing like a regular record of prices under the Gangetic Dynasty (1132-1532) exists. But fortunately the maximum price of food during the great famines which in almost each generation decimated Orissa, have come down to us, with the proportion which those prices bore to the ordinary rates. In the famine at the beginning of he fourteenth century, unhusked paddy rose to sixty times its average rate, and sold from six and eightpence to nine shillings per hundred-weight.[375] In the next century, under King Kapilendra (1452-

[371] Anangabhimadev III [372] 4,788,000 marhas of gold.

[373] 1,500,000 marhas of gold. *Purushottama Chandrika. As. Res.* xv.

[374] Purushottamadev of the Solar dynasty.

[375] The following calculation, the first of the king in Orissan history, is submitted by Hunter with diffidence to Indian statisticians. "While I believe that the data here collected are absolutely correct, it will be seen that several elements of uncertainty exist. In the famine at the beginning of the fourteenth century, paddy rose to 120 *kahans* per *bharan*. The

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1479 A.D.),[376] paddy rose to 62½ times the ordinary price, and fetched from 6s. 11½d. to 9s. 11d. per hundredweight.[377] Stirling, one of our first Commissioners in Orissa, obtained an ancient paper showing the exact rates under the Gangetic Dynasty. According to it, unhusked paddy sold from just under a penny to 1⅞ of a penny per hundredweight,[378] husked rice at 2⅛d. to 3d. per hundredweight,[379] and cotton at from 2s. 1¼d. to 3s. 0¼d. per hundredweight.[380]

From the above calculations we cannot take the price of paddy under the GANGETIC LINE (1132-1532 A.D.) at above 1½d. per hundredweight. It was probably less. Paddy now costs on the field in Orissa a shilling per hundredweight, or at least eight times its ancient price. An almost equal depreciation in the value of silver has gone on in other parts of India. Thus, in Upper Hindusthan, under Ala-ud-din (1303-1315 A.D.), the officially fixed rate of barley was a little under sixpence per hundred-

Orissa bharan will be found fully explained in my *Stat. Acc. of Puri*, App. I p. 16. The paddy bharan contains nominally about 9½, but practically 9 cwt. A kahan is 1280 cowries, and 4 kahans, or 5120 cowries, were taken as the official rate of exchange per rupee when we first obtained Orissa (1803). Afterwards this rate was complained of, on the ground that a rupee cost 6 or 7 kahans instead of 4; and this formed one of the alleged causes of the Khurdha rebellion in 1817. (Commissioner Ewers' Report to Chief Secretary to Government, dated Cuttack, 13th May 1818, para. 95. O. R.). At present the rate is 3584 cowries to the rupee, the great difference being due to the fall in the value of silver which has rapidly gone on since we obtained Orissa; and so far as I can judge, the rate officially fixed in 1804 of 5120 cowries per rupee was considerably under the actual rate of exchange. 120 kahans per bharan of 9 cwt. would be 6s. 8d. per cwt. at the rate of 4 kahans or 5120 cowries per rupee, thus: 120 kahans=30 rupees or 60 shillings; and if 60 shillings buy 9 cwt., the price of 1 cwt. will be 6s. 8d. On the other hand, if we take the lower or present rate of exchange at 3584 cowries per rupee, 120 kahans per bharan will equal 9s. 6d. per cwt. If we take the exchange at the alleged old rate of 6 kahans or 7680 cowries to the rupee, which I believe to be nearer the truth, the price would be reduced to 4s. 6d. per cwt. But in this and the following calculations I have taken the rates of exchange which would give the highest possible prices in the fourteenth century, so as to avoid the risk of overstating the rise in prices since then."

[376] Kapilendradev ruled from 1435 to 1466.

[377] 125 kahans per bharan of 9 cwt., *i.e.* 6s. 11½d. at 4 kahans or 5120 cowries per rupee; and 9s. 11d. at the lower rate of exchange of 3584 cowries per rupee.

[378] Two kahans per bharan of 9 cwt., *i.e.* just under a penny, at 6 kahans per rupee; 1½d. at 4 kahans; and 1⅞ of a penny at 3584 cowries per rupee.

[379] Ten cowries per Cuttack seer of 105 tolas.

[380] I *pana* and 10 *gandas* per seer. If, as seems possible, the rate in ancient times was at six or seven instead of four kahans to the rupee, these prices would be a full third less; and the depreciation in the value of silver would be about one-twelfth instead of one-eighth of its former purchasing power.

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weight,[381] and of peas fourpence half penny a hundredweight.[382] In the latter part of the century, under Firoz Shah (1351-1388 A.D.), the price of barley remained exactly the same, viz. six-pence per hundredweight.[383] But no sooner did the tide of European trade set in, than the value of silver fell, and at the time of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) the price of barley rose to 9½d. per hundredweight.[384] The price of barley in he same localties is now, on an average, about three and sixpence per hundred-weight retail, or seven times what it was throughout the fourteenth century.

We may therefore fairly assume that, as estimated in the staple food of the country, the value of silver in Orissa has fallen to ⅛th of its purchasing power. Wages were regulated then, as now, by the price of rice, and in fact were mostly paid in grain. The GANGETIC DYNASTY of Orissa (1132-1532 A.D.), with a revenue nominally the same as our own,[385] were therefore, as regards the home products of the country, and their ability to keep up armies and pompous retinues, eight times richer than we are. The reason clearly appears why a revenue which now barely defrays the charge of collection and the cost of protecting person and property, with one or two absolutely necessary public works, formerly supported a great standing army, a wealthy hierarchy of priests and Ministers of State, and a magnificent royal Court. As the native dynasty had practically eight times more revenue to spend than we have, so they practically took eight times more from the people. That is to say, their revenue represented eight times the quantity of the staple food of the Province which our own revenue represents.

The truth is, that a whole series of intermediate rights has

[381] 4 *jitals* per *man*. The jital was 1/64 of the silver Tanka of 175 grains; or say 1/64 of the present rupee, or a farthing and a half. The *man* of that period contained 28·8 lbs. avoirdupois. As barley cost 4 jitals or six farthings per 28·8 lbs., the price was a little under sixpence per cwt. For a full discussion of these weights, see Thomas' *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 161, ed. 1871.

[382] 3 jitals per man.

[383] 4 jitals per man. Thomas' *Pathan Kings*, p. 283.

[384] 8 *dams* per man. The dam was officially reckoned at 1/40th of a rupee; the *man* then contained 55·467 lbs. avoirdupois.

[385] The revenue under the Ganga dynasty may in round numbers be set down at £435,000, and under the English at £450,000 a year. With regard to the then price of paddy Hunter gives the following accounts—"the people consider eight annas a cheap rate for a Cuttack *man*, containing 107 lbs. avoirdupois; or as nearly as may be, a shilling a hundred-weight. This is the rate on the field; and as will be seen in my *Statistical Accounts* (Orissa vol ii, Appendices I., II., and IV.), the retail price varies in different localities. In Puri District I found that an ordinary rate in good seasons was 210 lbs. for two shillings. In Balasor town the price has varied from 240 lbs. per rupee in 1850, to 140 in 1870. These are the prices of the common sort of unhusked paddy, the staple food of the people."

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grown up between the ruling power and the soil. I shall show later how the local Kings of Orissa enjoyed the undivided ownership of the land. Instead of a long line of part-proprietors stretching from the State to the cultivator, as at present, and each with a separate degree of interest in the soil; the *plenum dominium* was firmly bound up and centred in the hands of the Prince. The growth of these intermediate rights forms the most conspicuous phenomenon in the history of Orissa under its foreign conquerors. For centuries, under the Muhammadans and Marhattas, the unhappy Province knew no government but that of the sword; yet the very roughness of the public administration allowed private rights to spring up unperceived, and to harden into permanent charges upon the soil—charges which its local princes would never have tolerated. Thus from long anarchy and misery a fair growth of rights has blossomed forth, and the magnificence which the Hindu Princes of Orissa concentrated upon themselves, is now distributed in the form of moderate prosperity among a long-descending chain of proprietors, each with his own set of rights in the land.

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CHAPTER IV

ORISSA UNDER FOREIGN GOVERNORS

We have hitherto viewed Orissa under its Hindu rulers. I now proceed to trace the events which brought it into conflict with foreign powers, and to set forth the good and the evil which befell the Province from contact with the outside world. The scarcity of materials that has sometimes rendered the narrative so neutral-tinted, can no longer be complained of. The literary instinct which among the Hindus spent itself on religious poetry and the drama, found among the Moslems a clear full outlet in history. The Semitic race, and the conquering creed which it founded, have spread the Arabian passion for annals from the white cities of the Guadalquivir to the rice-swamps of the Irawadi. In India, as soon as a province comes into permanent contact with the Muhammadans, its history emerges from the wonderland of temple archieves and sacred song; and becomes only a question of patient industry, in searching out the fragmentary allusions to it in the Muhammadan manuscripts.[1]

But unhappily these new materials do not form straight paths converging to common conclusion, but a labyrinth of cross-roads intersecting each other at the most perplexing angles ; and which, after wiling on the traveller in the hope of new discoveries, often stop short in the midst of some trackless jungle. Whenever two sources of materials exist, Indian history finds itself reduced to an unsatisfactory reconciliation of conflicting evidence. No sooner does it dare to be critical than it becomes inconclusive, and passes beyond the open and sunny domain of the annalist into the dim regions of antiquarian research. But so long as the past of a country involves at every step an intricate disquisition, the free pace and far-reaching glance of history are alike dangerous and impossible. It is only when the antiquarian has finished his part of the work that the historian can safely begin ; and the

[1] Hunter thanks Osborn for going through the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* and *Khafi Khan* for him. To Blochmann his obligations are still greater ; and it is not too much to say that his *Ain-i-Akbari* creates a new basis for Indian history. Besides a variety of local materials, which Hunter refers to as the Blochmann MSS., he was favoured by that scholar with a complete list of all notices of Orissa in the *Akbar-Namah*, particularly the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the *Makhzani-i-Afghani*, the *Badaoni* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. He also found the History of India as told by its own historians by Sir H. Elliot & Dowson very useful. In addition to the Jagannath Palm Leaf Records as digested in the Bengali work, *Purushotta Chandrika*, and by Stirling, *As. Res.* vol. xv., he utilised the collection of the Mackenzie manuscripts in the Asiatic Society's Library in Calcutta, and a digest of the corresponding papers in Madras.

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rash artist who goes sketching in an unmapped country, runs an excellent chance of closing his career in a bewildering forest or quagmire. If I have escaped this peril, the credit is due to those kind scholars who, with greater opportunity for such labours than myself, have guided me across leagues of unexplored ground; and to the patient devotion of the men who in time past have given their lives to Indian research...

But while thus labouring to hew a way through the labyrinth of Orissa history under its foreign Governors, I have felt that it would not be fair to hide the conflict of opinion which exists. Endless antiquarian discussions are intolerable in a historical work, but such a work would be even more disfigured by dishonest concealment. The text will therefore set forth the conclusions at which, after considering the whole evidence, I have arrived; but the process of reaching them, and all technical details, I venture to relegate to footnotes.

At the beginning of the thirteenth entury, Orissa first became conscious of that new power in the north, which was so soon to burst down in uncontrollable waves upon the continent of India. In 1203 A.D., a valiant Afghan[2] led his tribe under the imperial banner into Bengal. The last Hindu king feebly yielded to the mountaineers of Central Asia, abandoned his capital and fled to the shrine of Jagannath, where he closed his days as an ascetic. The conqueror, although able to carry his arms to the northern frontier of Bengal till turned back by the mighty ranges which wall out India from Tibet,[3] did not venture to follow the fugitive into the dangerous Orissa delta. But nine years later (1212 A.D.) his third successor,[4] a bold soldier of fortune from Persia, swept down upon the Province, 'which had never before been subdued by the Muhammadan arms,' and forced it to pay tributes.[5] This raid, for it could not be called a conquest, yielded no permanent results; and in 1243 the ruler of Bengal, now a fierce Tartar,[6] marched upon Orissa. Again the persistent valour of the Uriyas turned back the tide of invasion, and drove the Muhammadans before them into the heart of Bengal. The Orissa Prince[7] divided his army into two columns. One of them occupied the eastern or river route northwards through Bengal, keeping along the Ganges, and besieged the Moslem Governor in his capital.[8] The other advanced by the great military road along the western

[2] Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji.

[3] Charles Stewart, principally following the *Tabkat-i-Nasiri. History of Bengal*, pp. 27-29.

[4] Hisam-ud-din Douz Ghyas-ud-din; Stewart. *History of Bengal* p. 35. Hunter invariably quotes the Calcutta edition of 1847, which with all its inaccuracies is now the only one in print.

[5] See ante, chap. iii, fote note 294.

[6] Iz-ud-din Tughral Tughan Khan.

[7] Narasimhadev I (1238-1264 A.D.)

[8] Gaur; Stewart, 39.

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frontier of the Lower Provinces, and sacked the chief town of Birbhum.[9] The Emperor on his throne at Delhi heard with indignation of the hitherto invincible armies of Islam having been driven back four hundred miles by the peasant militia of Orissa. He hurried down reinforcements before which the Uriyas retired, laden with plunder to their own country; and the vanity of Moslem historians has covered the national disgrace, by converting this Hindu raid into a Tartar invasion under the generals of Chingis Khan.

Ten years later, the Tartar Slave-Governor of Bengal tried to revenge this defeat by another invasion of Orissa. But the feudal organization of the Province, which I shall hereafter describe, again prevailed. In the end the Muhammadan army fled completely broken, and with the loss of all its elephants. The truth is, that the delta of the Mahanadi lay too far from the base of the Moslem operations in Bengal, to allow of any permanent conquest by the Muhammadans in that age. After traversing the network of rivers which water the lower valley of the Ganges, they found, when they reached Orissa, military operations on a large scale impracticable among the still more complicated network of rivers in that Province. Three centuries of raids, and hollow treaties, and mutual wrongs, elapsed (1200-1500 A.D.) before anything like a subjugation of Orissa by the Moslems took place. Long after the Afghans had trodden the conspicuous Hindu dynasties of India into the dust, Orissa asserted its independence, and remained the stronghold of the ancient national faith. It was not, as we shall presently see, till its princes had proved false to their trust, and leagued themselves with the Musalmans against the patriot cause, that they fell. Even then, the conquest of Orissa was reserved as one of the supreme triumphs of Akbar in 1568, at a time when the imperial power had reached is culminating point.

During the fourteenth century the political relations of Orissa seem to have been entirely with the southward. The narrow strip stretching down the Madras coast to the Godavari River gave its nominal ruler, the Orissa king, endless trouble. In 1309 the Prince had to seek the aid of the Moslems against his rebellious southern subjects,[10] and the Persian historians dilate with national pride upon the wars which followed; wars which ended in their seizing the disputed country for themselves.[11]

[9] Nagar. See *Annals of Rural Bengal*, vol. i. p. 81, 4th ed.

[10] Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 396, 1866. See ante, chap. iii, note 349.

[11] The conquest of Telinga is narrated by Abdullah Wasaf, by Amir Khusru, and by Zia-ud-din Barni. Sir Henry Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians*, vol. iii. pp. 49, 78-85, 204, 231-234, and 558-561. Amir Khusru distinctly states that the Muhammadan force consisted partly of Hindus. The subject occupies many hundred pages of the Mackenzie MSS., which will be quoted in detail in subsequent notes.

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After twenty-three years of fighting, the capital of the insurgent southern strip fell before the allies,[12] who seem to have given it up on this occasion to its lawful monarch, the Orissa king. During the next hundred years we hear nothing of the connection of the Muhammadans with Orissa. In the middle of the fourteenth century it is spoken of as still unexplored by them.[13]

But the time had now arrived when such intercourse was to be drawn so tight as to strangle the ancient Hindu Province. We catch a glimpse at a roving Muhammadan force levying black mail from Orissa in 1451.[14] Six years later, the Orissa king joined with the Hindu Princes of the southern strip to attack the Muhammadans, who had by that time effected a permanent settlement in what is now the Madras Presidency. But the feudal organization of Orissa was better fitted for the defence of its own territory than for the invasion of other countries, and the Hindu chieftains were glad to purchase a retreat by a sum which would now be equal to £400,000.[15] In 1471 the Orissa Prince appears as the ally of the Muhammadans. He invited them into his dominions to put down a domestic usurper, and gave them two forts in return for their aid.[16] Afterwards repenting of the bargain, he formed a great coalition with the Hindu Princes of the south, and brought down upon his unfortunate country the vengeful forces of Islam twenty thousand strong. The latter, however, although they could extort tribute, found the subjugation of Orissa as impossible as ever; and the fifteenth century seems to have ended with a new alliance between the Moslems and the Orissa king against the rebellious southern strip.[17]

[12] Elphinstone's, *History of India*, p. 242. Mackenzie MSS. vol. v. (unpaged), vol. vi. pp. 73-110. Asiatic Society's Library, Calcutta.

[13] Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 402-408 and 476, ed. 1866. Sultan Firuz Tughluq invaded Orissa in 1361 and occupied the capital Baranasi Kataka for sometimes. See Elliot and Dowson op. cit., pp. 212-216.

[14] Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. 275. The fact that the Muhammadans were levying black mail from Orissa in 1451 when the great Kapilendradev was ruling, is unthinkable.

[15] This has no historical basis. Kapilendradev in 1461 decisively defeated the Bahmani power and advanced as far as the capital Bidar. See R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* vol. i. pp. 291-92.

[16] Rajmahendri and Kandapalli. Firishta, cited *As. Res.* xv. 277, 270. See the different and fuller account from Briggs' Firishta, transcribed by Elphinstone, App. p. 756. The Temple Archives make no mention of these irreligious alliances, or of the retributive defeats in which they ended.

[17] Purushottamadev succeeded his father Kapilendradev in 1467. At the early part of his reign he was defeated by the great Bahmani Sultan Muhammad III, who snatched away the Southern dominions of the Orissan empire. (Briggs, *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol. ii, pp. 494-96). But later on Purushottamadev in 1481-82 recaptured the strategic fort of Kondavidu and drove away the Muslims from the Godavari-Krishna doab including the Guntur district. Sewell, *A sketch of South Indian dynasties*, p. 48. *J.A.S.B.* 1900, vol. lxix p. 183.

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The commencement of the sixteenth century discloses the allies fighting rather unsuccessfully, against the great Hindu monarch of the south, who at that time founded power which threatened to sweep the Muhammadans into the sea. The heroism and policy of Krishna Raya[18] still live in the songs of Southern India. The popular legends love to relate how he carrried his victorious arms from Ceylon to the mountains of Tibet,[19] and sober history recognises in him the last breakwater which Hindu valour opposed to Moslem conquest. In this great national struggle the Orissa monarch fought on the unpatriotic side. But his perfidy failed to yield safety.[20] The southern monarch crushed the unholy alliance, and the Orissa king found himself compelled to give up his daughter in marriage to the last of the Hindu heroes.[21]

In 1524 died this sole prop of the Hindu Dynasties of Southern India, and the next half-century marks their final extinction by the Muhammadans. The Telugu Palm Leaf manuscripts depict the throes and agonies amid which the ancient kingdoms gave birth to the new Muhammadan Empire of the South. They state that between 972 and 1563 A.D. three great powers successively arose.[22] During this period the LORDS OF ELEPHANTS[23] ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras ; the LORDS OF MEN[24] held the country to the southward, and produced the hero-king described in the last paragraph ; the LORDS OF HORSES[25] were the Moslems, who with their all-devouring Pathan cavalry overthrew the two former. In spite of the Orissa legends alluded to at the end of the last volume, and which magnify their own monarchs, there can be little doubt that the LORDS OF ELEPHANTS had sunk to the lowest place in this dynastic trio at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The southern line, the LORDS OF MEN, at that very time reached their climax of power. We may pass over with a smile the legendary expeditions of their hero-monarch

[18] Reigned 1509-1524 A.D. Mackenzie MSS. fol. vi. pp. 73-110.

[19] Mackenzie MSS. fol. iv. (unpaged, but near the beginning).

[20] Hunter thinks that there was an alliance between the Gajapati King of Orissa and the Bahmani Sultan against the rising Hindu power of Vijayanagar state. But actually there was no such alliance at all. Very probably a few Muslim officers served under Prataprudradeva.

[21] For notices of Krishna Raya, see Taylor's Examination of the Madras Mackenzie MSS. pp. 27,38,70,75,78,83, and 143. Also the folio volumes of the Bengal Mackenzie MSS. in the Asiatic Society's Library, Calcutta, vol. iv. (which begins with an account of the great Krishna Raya of Vizianagaram), v. (unpaged), vi. 63-65, 73-110, x., xii., and xv. The Jagannath Palm Leaf Archives give quite a different account.

[22] *i.e.* from 895 *sak*, continuing during 591 years.

[23] Gajapatis, the Dynasty described in the last chapter.

[24] Narapatis, from 1336 to 1564 A.D. Their nothern and later capital was at Vizianagaram; their southern one at Adaigundi or Anaigundi.

[25] Aswapatis, the Bahmani Sultans.

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from Ceylon to Tibet; but the Portuguese historians[26] attest his greatness, and all India from the Narbada River southwards acknowledged his sway. His vast dominions began to disintegrate upon his death in 1524; and in 1564 the capital of his Dynasty (the LORDS OF MEN) finally fell before the Moslem cavalry—the LORDS OF HORSES.

Four years later, in 1568, the Orissa LORDS OF ELEPHANTS also succumbed beneath the Muhammadan arms. The beginning of the century had brought with it a Muhammadan raid more serious than any which we have hitherto had to describe. While the Orissa Princes were making treaties with the armies of Islam in Southern India, against their own subjects and the great Hindu coalition under Krishna Raya—treaties which each side kept or broke according to its own convenience—the Moslem Governor of Bengal dashed down upon the Province from the north; sacked the capital, Cuttack; and plundered he holy city, Puri, itself. The Orissa Prince hurried northwards, and the feudal organization of his kingdom again beat back the raiders from the north.[27] Even the flattering historians of the pious and statesmanlike descendant of the Prophet who then gave lustre to the throne of Bengal, merely mention that the 'Tributary princes as far as Orissa obeyed his commands.' His Orissa raid was the work of his most celebrated warrior, whose exploits against the infidel won for him the titles of the Treasure of the Army and the Fighter for the Faith.[28] The general, on his way back, built a great fort to the north-west of Calcutta, in the District which was then considered the frontier of Orissa.[29] His sovereign, jealous of his fame, took offence at his thus establishing a stronghold on the border of a hostile country, accepted it as a declaration of revolt, wiled him to the royal Court, and beheaded him. A local tradition still relates how his mutilated trunk mounted a

[26] They mention his (Krishnadev Râya's) siege of Rachol, near Bombay, with an army of 35,000 horse and 733,000 foot. A Muhammadan force which advanced to relieve the city was defeated, and had to accept as the degrading terms of peace the acknowledgment of Krishnadev Raya as the Lord Paramount of Kanara, and the kissing of his feet. The execution of these conditions, although agreed upon, was accidentally deferred. Mackenzie MSS. fol. vi. pp. 73-110.

[27] No date has hitherto been given for this invasion. We know, however, from the Oriya Records that it took place under Pratap Rudra Dev (1497-1540 A.D.) We also know from Stewart (Hist. Beng. 73), as elucidated by Blochmann's researches in Hugli District, that it took place under Sultan Hussain Shah, 1497-1521 A.D. (Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, April 1870). This Husain Shah is the Ala-ud-din Husan Shah of Stewart, and appears erroneously in Elphinstone (p. 770), probably following the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, as Ala-ud-din II. His identity has been established by the author of the Riyaz, and an Arabic Inscription near Saran. The Orissa invasion took place, therefore, between 1503 and 1521, and the Blochmann MSS. incline to the year 1510.

[28] Ismail Ghazi. Blochmann MSS.

[29] At Mandaran, in the south-west of Burdwan District.

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horse and rode back to his beloved fortress, while the head followed its course hovering in the air. On reaching the stronghold, it begged for a little of the narcotic leaf[30] which the natives of India chew with, or instead of, tobacco. This, however, they refused, saying that his mouth was high in the air and could not eat. 'Then it is not Allah's will,' exclaimed the lips, 'that my head should again join my body. Go therefore, my head, go back and be buried at the King's city.' Thereupon the head flew back in the air the same road as it had come, and they laid it in a grave which may be seen to this day. Such was the fate of the first invader of Orissa in the sixteenth century, and such the story of the HEADLESS RIDER who had led it.[31]

Of the second and final invasion we have four separate accounts.[32] Their discrepancies may be found below; but the three most trusworthy of them, while differing as to the exact date, agree in assigning the conquest of Orissa to the victorious Afghan who ruled Bengal from 1564 to 1573. This Prince formed the fifth of the Afghan Dynasty, and, like almost all the

[30] Pan.

[31] Blochmann MSS.

[32] (1) Stirling's account in vol. xv. of the *Asiatic Researches.* (2) *Purushottama Chandrika,* by Bhabani Charan Bandopadhyaya. (3) Stirling's Posthumous Paper in vol. vi. *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal,* 1837. (4) Abul Fazl's taken from the Akbar-namah. The first three are based upon the Palm Leaf Archives of Jagannath; the fourth is a contemporary record by the keenest observer and most accurate chronicler whom the Muhammadan Empire produced. According to the Palm Leaf Archives, the subjugation of Orissa was effected by Kala Pahar at a date varying from 1487 to 1558. According to the contemporary work by Abul Fazl, it took place in 1567-68. The historical probabilities are *prima facie* in favour of Abul Fazl's account. But a statement by Stirling, based upon the Oriya documents, places the inaccuracy of their date beyond question. He mentions (*As. Res.* xv. 288) that the conquest took place after the Orissan Prince had made preparations to defend the Province against Sultan Sulaiman. Now Sultan Sulaiman reached Bengal only in 1564, and up to 1566 his whole attention was engrossed by military difficulties in the north of the Province. As soon as these were settled, he advanced towards the south and invaded Orissa. This brings us to the year 1567-68, the very date given by Abul Fazl. Stirling, in the list of kings printed in 1837 from Oriya materials, places Kala Pahar's invasion between 1487 and 1509—clearly erroneous. Were it not for the untrustworthy character of this list, it might be worth mentioning that it states that the king who ascended in 1569 was put to death by the Mughals, or just a year after the real date of the Moslem conquest. In the list published in 1825 (*As. Res.* xv.), and which gives 1558 as the year of the conquest, Stirling's authorities seem to have deserted him for a third of a century preceding that date. Between 1533 and 1558 his work affords only one date, and he omits the names of four monarchs. Hunter's list, compiled from the *Purushottama Chandrika,* gives the names of seven kings from 1532 to 1559, and leaves the reader at liberty to place the conquest of Orissa at any time between 1559 and 1578. It dismisses this period as 'arajak,' or anarchical, but the inference is that the Muhammadan conquest took place at the beginning of it. Independently of the evidence in favour of Abul Fazl, therefore, none of the three records compiled from the Oriya materials have adequate intrinsic claims on our belief.

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other chiefains of the time, derived his lineage from the highland clans beyond the north-west frontier of India. By a judicious mixture of valour, fidelity, and treason, he reached in 1564 the throne of Bengal. During the next two years he sustained an uncertain war with his late master the Emperor Akbar. The latter, indignant at his defection, advanced upon him from the north, and at the same time stirred up the Orissa Prince[33] on the southern frontier of the rebel's new dominions. The was not the first time that a rival of the new Bengal King had sought the alliance of an Orissa Prince. A few years before (1557-1559), the unfortunate Sultan Ibrahim, flying before Sulaiman, had found a shelter at the Orissa Court, and rectived an estate from the royal demesne. When Akbar's envoy arrived, the refugee naturally tried to stir up the Orissa Prince to fight on the Imperial side against his own former enemy, who had seized the throne of Bengal. The embassy was splendidly entertained for three months in the holy city of Puri; a minister of the hospitable Orissa King accompanied it back, and was presented with great ceremony at the Imperial Court in Northern India.[34]

For these transient honours the unhappy Province was destined to pay dear. Within the next two years, the Emperor adjusted his dispute with his rebel subject, and deserted his Orissa allies. Sulaiman, on his part, gave up some territory[35] on the north to his master; Akbar, on his side, found himself involved in other troubles in the far west.[36] The Afghan chief thus reigned supreme in the kingdom which he had usurped, and willingly had the Friday prayers read in the Emperor's name as the cheap price of undisputed possession of Bengal.

Next year, 1567, the new King of Bengal turned his arms against the ally of his former master. He advanced with a great army of Afghans into Orissa, and defeated its last independent Prince under the walls of his capital.[37] Not content, like the

[33] Akbar's ambassadors to the court of Mukundadev, King of Orissa, were Hasan Khan Khazanchi and Narahari Sahaya Mahapatra. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 525). This Mahapatra was by birth an Oriya, who had raised himself to the rank of the Chief musician at the Imperial Moghal court. He accompanied the embassy as interpreter. (Blochmann MSS.; *Akbar-namah*). According to the *Muntakhabut-Twarikh* (Lowe: Vol. ii p. 77) the envoys requested Mukundadev not to give shelter to the rebel Khan Zaman. Rai Paramanand, Mukundadev's ambassador accompanied them to the court of Akbar.

[34] At Nagarchin, near Agra, in A.H. 973, or A.D. 1565. Blochmann MSS.

[35] Zamania, near Ghazipur, delivered over to Munim Khan Khanan, the Imperial Governor of Jaunpur.

[36] Siege of Chitor.

[37] According to the Madala Panji Mukundadev was away from Baranasi Kataka (Cuttack), his capital, at the time the Afghans laid siege on the town. Koni Samantasimhar, the commandant of Barabati (the fort of Cuttack) was killed and the capital was occupied. In the mean-

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previous invaders, with levying a ransom from the Province, he marched through it to the southern extremity, and laid siege to Puri, the holy city, itself. The old feudal organization of Orissa, which three centuries before turned back the wave of Moslem conquest, now broke down under the strain of a two years' military occupation. The peasant militia scattered before the veteran Afghans, and religious terror unnerved the whole population of Orissa. The Moslem northmen marched furiously from temple to temple, throwing down the most august shrines, smashing in pieces the most potent gods; strewing their route with visible proofs of the powerlessness of the native divinities and of the invincible supremacy of Islam. A proverb still survives, that on the sound of the Muhammadan kettle-drums the noses of the gods dropped off. The refugee Emperor,[38] who had found an asylum from the wrath of the Bengal King at the Orissa Court, shared the ruin of his protector, and fell beneath the dagger of his victorious rival.[39]

Next year, 1568-69, the Bengal King left Orissa, and we hear of him immediately after as fighting and plundering in a District seven hundred miles to the north.[40] The feudal organization of Orissa gathered together its fragments, and no sooner was the Province relieved from the weight of a master's hand than it revolted against his Deputy. The Bengal King rushed southwords again with his Afghan veterans; but although he restored his supremacy, he contented himself till the end of his reign, 1573, with a mild and distant sway.

His successor, Daud Khan, threw off all allegiance to the Emperor at Delhi, and declared Bengal an independent Kingdom. The following year, 1574, accordingly brought down upon that Province the whole warlike weight of the Empire. Bengal thus became the theatre of the final struggle between two great races, the Afghans and the Mughals, both of which traced their origin to the steppes of Central Asia. The Afghans had first conquered India, but in their turn they had been pushed down by the Mughals, who now occupied the Imperial throne. The contest ended, as all such contests in India have hitherto ended, in the victory of the race who had last arrived from the north. The

time Ramchandra Bhanja, the commander of Sarangagarh Kataka revolted and proclaimed himself king. Mukundadeva, who was then closely besieged at the fort of Kotsima (Kotsimul on the Damodar in Hughli district) patched up a truce with the Afghans and rushed to the south. He met the rebel Ramchandra at a place called Gohira-tikiri near Jajpur, and in the skirmish that took place between them, he was defeated and killed.

[38] The Sultan Ibrahim.

[39] Here, and generally in his narrative of the Moslem transactions in Orissa, Hunter follows the Muhammadan writers rather than Uriya ones.

[40] Kuch Bihar.

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Afghan King of Bengal, reduced to a suppliant in the camp of the enemy, gladly exchanged the throne of Bengal for the Province of Orissa as a fief from the Mughal Emperor. The death of the Imperial general, however, gave the signal for his revolt, and from this time forward the Afghans used Orissa as their military base against the Emperor Akbar and his Mughal array. Themselves the former conquerors and rulers of India, they had gradually advanced or been pushed down the valley of the Ganges, till they now stood at bay in its southernmost Province, with their backs to the sea. Orissa had from time immemorial been the refuge of unfortunate dynasties. We have seen how the last Hindu King of Bengal found in it an asylum from the victorious Afghans in 1203. Three hundred years afterwards, a driven-out Emperor of Delhi[41] had found in it refuge from the Bengal King. Time had now brought round a double revenge: a Muhammadan King of Bengal sought in it a shelter from the Delhi Emperor, and the Afghans accepted it as the last retreat of their race.

From amid its network of rivers the Afghans issued forth in incessant raids upon he now Mughal Province of Bengal—raids which from time to time rose to the dignity of invasions. I give a list of the principal hostilities, in Appendix II. After three years of incessant fighting, the Afghan King of Orissa was slain, 1576, and the Imperial troops occupied the country. Two years later, Orissa became a Province of Akbar's Empire.

The Mughals owed the annexation of Orissa to a Hindu general, Todar Mall. This valiant soldier, whose history exhibits the support which the Muhammadan Emperors derived from Hindu valour, and suggests the loss which the Anglo-Indian Army sustains from not availing itself of Indian officers of rank, was born in the capital of the Punjab.[42] He entered the Emperor Akbar's service at an early age, and after winning military distinction, was entrusted with the consolidation of the Imperial power in a conquered Province.[43] He stands forth as the leading spirit in the subsequent struggle between the Afghans and the Mughals for Bengal. In the great battle[44] which decided the fate of this contest, when one of the Mughal generals had fallen,[45] and the other's horse had run away with him,[46] the Hindu soldier held together the panic-stricken troops, shouting, 'What harm if the one Mughal is dead, and the other has run away? the Empire is still ours!' After several years more of eminent service in the field and as Revenue Administrator, the Hindu

[41] Sultan Ibrahim, already alluded to.
[42] Lahore. [43] Gujarat.
[44] Takaroi or Mughalmari. Identified in the App. II.
[45] Khan Alam.
[46] Munim Khan.

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was appointed Prime Minister in the teeth of a bigoted Moslem Court. The troubles in Orissa brought him again to the front, and in the end he led a victorious force to Cuttack, the present capital of the Province. No sooner had he defeated the Afghan King, than he shines forth as an enlightened Civil Administrator. The Afghan chiefs fell back from the Delta upon the mountainous western frontier which now forms the Tributary States, leaving the Hindu Minister of Akbar to introduce order, and a firm, peaceful rule. He executed a survey of the Province (1582), and substituted for the innumerable local measures a standard rod of twelve spans,[47] which survives to this day. Vigilant wherever his master's interest was concerned, he respected the feelings of the conquered Hindus ; placed a native prince, the first of the present family, on the throne ; and by exempting the District sacred to Jagannath from assessment, won the hearts of the people to the Imperial cause.[48]

But the conquest had cost the Empire dear. Besides the losses in battle, the fevers of the tropical delta made havoc among the northern troops. Even after the struggle was over, and the Mughal forces had retired to Bengal, I find a list of fourteen generals and great Officers of State who died of malaria in the year of their return.[49] There is so little in the Moslem character of the present day to remind us of their former greatness, that we are apt to overlook the fact that they won India by exploits not less brilliant, and by self-sacrifices not less noble, than its conquest in the seventeenth century elicited from the British troops. No sooner had Akbar's politic Hindu general left Orissa, than the Afghan remnant sallied forth from their hill retreats, and the Province again blazed up against the Mughal Empire (1583). Six years of confused fighting followed ; and it was not until Akbar hurled another Hindu general against the rebellious Delta, that some sort of settled Government could be restored.

Raja Man Sinh, the new conqueror of Orissa, came of a noble Hindu stock in Rajputana, and his talents for war soon attracted the favour of an Emperor who strengthened his throne by selecting his servants for their ability, independent of their religion or race. In the high rank of Governor of the difficult Province of Kabul, his policy rendered him conspicuous in an age of eminent statesmen and soldiers. In 1588-9 he was promoted

[47] The Bara-dasti-padika.

[48] His assessment extended over only the three northern divisions or sarkars of the then Province of Orissa, viz. Jaleswar, Bhadrakh, and Cuttack. Puri remained to the Raja of Khurdha and the priests of Jagannath.

[49] At Gaur in A.H. 983, or 1575 A.D. Did the returned army bring with it the pestilence which in that year desolated Gaur ; or was the pestilence an endemic to which the army, wearied out with its Orissa campaign, fell a prey ?

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to the Governorship of the newly subjugated Province of Bengal; and immediately found an Orissa revolt upon his hands.[50] The rainy season cut short his first invasion of the latter Province; but he forced the Orissa rebels to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor, and to stamp their coin with his name. The Afghans, indeed, obtained peace only by a concession which, although they as Musalmans cared nothing about it, must have been a noble gift in the eyes of the Hindu general. They made over to him the Temple of Jagannath and all the adjacent country, in fact the whole District of Puri, and for two years the disracted Province obtained rest.

In 1591, the restless Orissa Afghans again provoked the wrath of the Governor of Bengal. The Hindu, with national caution, first obtained the sanction of the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, and then organized an invasion on such a scale as to utterly root out this last stronghold of Afghan revolt. He calmly advanced to the Subarnarekha River, and waited till the characteristic impatience of the Afghans placed them at his mercy. In an evil hour they crossed the stream, depending chiefly upon their elephants, and rushed with fiery impetuosity on the wary Hindu's squadrons. In a moment their fate was decided. The Imperial artillery sent the elephants flying back in fury and dismay on the Afghan line; and although the latter, with a courage and endurance worthy of the ancient conquerors of India, stood their ground for a whole day, they remained to die, not to fight. The Hindu general improved his victory with the same calm wisdom with which he had won it. He slowly advanced to Cuttack, inflexibly garrisoning all strong positions on the route, and did not leave the Province till he had restored it to the rent-roll of the Empire (1592).

He owed his success as much to his policy as to his valour. He found two great parties in Orissa: the Afghan Musalmans, to whom it had been granted as an Imperial fief in 1575, and who had used it ever since as the base of their rebel operations; and the Hindu population of Orissa, headed by the Hindu Prince whom Raja Todar Mall had confirmed in 1582. These two powers the new general skilfully balanced against each other, strengthening the Hindu party, from whom the Empire had nothing to fear, and breaking up the Afghan colony by offering them a settlement in the heart of Bengal.[51] Their retirement

[50] Blochmann MSS.; *Akbar-namah.*

[51] At Khalifatabad, in Jessor. Stewart (*Hist. Beng.* p. 118) erroneously calls the settlement Khalifabad. Khalifatabad was a Sarkar or Division of the Mughal Empire which corresponds with modern Jessor, and the descendants of the Afghans still survive there. The principal paraganas or Fiscal Divisions in which they settled were the eight following: (1) Bagmari; (2) Jessor; (3) Chirolih; (4) Datiah; (5) Salimabad; (6) Shabosh; (7) Mungatch; (8) Haveli Khalifatabad. Blochmann MSS.

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left the ground clear for the aggrandizement of the local Hindu Dynasty. The ancestor of the present Raja received a principality of 71 forts and 1342 square miles,[52] besides the suzerainty of 129 other forts and the territory which they commanded. Henceforth he paid his revenue, not to the Afghans, but direct to the Imperial officers, and obtained the august hereditary title of Maharaja, with the Court rank of Commander of Three Thousand Five Hundred Horse. His private income amounted to £61,561, a sum which made him as rich a prince then as a third of a million sterling would now. The other members of his family received the charge of fortresses or hill passes, with separate revenues in proportion to their rank; and the Imperial general, as the private possessor of the holy city Puri, knit together the interests of the native population with those of the Mughal Empire.

These wise concessions created a wide and permanent gulf between the Hindu Militia of Orissa under their feudal chiefs, and the remnant of Afghans which yet remained to afflict the Province. Raja Man Sinh, like his predecessor Raja Todar Mall, served his Imperial master faithfully, and in the very act of serving him shines forth in history as a consistent and patriotic Hindu. The Emperor Akbar well knew how to reward such fidelity. In spite of Muhammadan protests, he raised him to the Command of Seven Thousand Horse, a higher dignity than any subject except a Prince of the Blood Royal had yet attained, and far above the head of any Musalman officer at the most glorious period of the Muhammadan Empire.[53] As the previous Hindu conqueror of Orissa had enjoyed the title of Prime Minister[54] in the teeth of the Moslem Court, so Man Sinh received the still nobler appellation of the Son[55] of the Emperor.

I have dwelt at some length on the two Hindu generals of

[52] Raja Ram Chandradev. Besides the Raja's own principality of Khurdha, containing seventy-one forts, he was made suzerain, under Akbar, of the estates of thirty other feudal lords, containing one hundred and tyenty-nine *kilas* or castles. This territory comprised the modern District of Ganjam, the Tributary States of Angul, Athgarh, Banki, Baramba, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Khandpara, Narsinhpur, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Talcher, and Tigaria, the estate of Dompara in Cuttack, and the Fiscal Divisions of Andhar, Bajrakot, etc., of the Puri district. From the British Surveys the total area was 13,935 sq. miles. His own principality amounted to 1342 sq. miles Between 1627 and 1658 it yielded a revenue of £61,561. To the sons of Mukund Deo, the last independent king, Man Sinh gave the forts of *Ali and Sarangagarh* and their dependencies, with the hereditary title of Raja, and the official rank of Commanders of five Hundred Horse. The area of the *Sarangagarh* estate was 74 sq. miles, and between 1727 and 1758 it yielded a revenue of £3698. The area of the Ali estate was 131 sq. miles, and between the same years it yielded a revenue of £2612.

[53] Blochmann MSS.; *Ain-i-Akbari.* Vol. i. fasc. iv. p. 371. Hitherto Five Thousand had been limit of promotion.

[54] Wazir. [55] Farzand.

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Akbar, for to their policy the Mughals owed the permanent annexation of Orissa. In the true history of India, I find that battles have been of small use in building up an empire. A great defeat may put an end to a dynasty, but military exploits little avail in constructing a kingdom. All the raids, invasions, and victories of the Muhammadans in Orissa during the previous three centuries left no permanent trace behind. What the rude valour of the Muhammadans failed to effect, the calm unbending statesmanship of Akbar's two Hindu generals accomplished, and from the year 1590 Orissa appears as a peaceful dependency of the Delhi throne. The more I look into the matter, the more satisfied I am that each of the races which have successively governed India, has been the one which for the time being best deserved to rule. We make a great mistake in thinking that the Muhammadans owed their supremacy to brute strength. No great empire was ever built up and supported by such ignoble means. The history of Orissa stands forth as a type of the Muhammadan system of conquest; and it was not until the interests of the Province were made identical with the interests of the empire that it became a constituent part of the Mughal Power. Two hundred and fifty years of confused fighting had gone for nothing. Akbar's Hindu generals found the Province in a state of constant change amounting to anarchy; and by one or two battles, followed up by a liberal recognition of the rights and prejudices of the native population, they substituted a civil government for a whirlpool of dynastic revolution and foreign invasion. The Muhammadans ruled in Orissa, because they alone at that time knew how to rule; they ceased, as we shall afterwards see, to retain Orissa when they no longer deserved to keep it.[56]

While Hindu general of Akbar strengthened the native population of Orissa, and restored the Hindu Dynasty to something of its former splendour by placing him over the Southern Districts,[57] he secured the loyalty of the Afghans by allowing them to retain the government of the northern part of the Province. But nothing could make the Afghan conquerors of India forget their departed greatness, and this arrangement lasted only two years, 1590-92. I give the details of their incessant revolts in an Appendix. As already stated, their present perfidy brought down Raja Man Sinh again upon Orissa; and although the Afghans made a last despairing stand,[58] the valour and strategy

[56] The principal events in the Moslem history of Orissa from 1510 to 1751 A.D., as set forth by the Persian historians, are given in Appendix II.

[57] Part of Cuttack, with all Puri, Khurdha, Ganjam, and a few of the southern Tributary States. See note 52.

[58] At Sarangagarh.

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of Akbar's Hindu general again prevailed. From 1592, the Imprial Commissions[59] appointing a Governor of the Lower Provinces include 'Bengal, Behar, *and Orissa.*' The Hindu element remained loyal amid the perfidy of the Afghans; and the head of the native Orissa dynasty, along with several of his family, still stand in the roll of the grandees of the Delhi Court. Hereafter the Orissa Afghans, although they fired up from time to time, and found themselves crushed between the Mughal Province of Bengal on the north, and the loyal Hindu dependency of Orissa on the south. In 1598 they took advantage of the Bengal Governor's absence to rebel, but received so severe a punishment as to effectually quiet them for the next thirteen years. The Mughal Emperor showed tenderness to the other Muhammadan race who had ruled India before his own. On the humble submission of the Afghans, he allowed them to retain their Orissa fiefs. But they again abused the Emperor's compassion, and in 1611 led out an army of twenty thousand troops, scornfully rejecting the embassy which the Bengal Governor sent to reason with them. In vain the envoy urged the hopelessness and folly of revolt; in vain he expatiated on the common religion of Afghan and Mughal, and showed that, according to their SACRED LAW, it was their duty as the weaker power to peacefully accept their fate. 'Nations rise and fall by destiny,' he said. 'For six hundred years the Afghans ruled India with despotic sway. Fate had now made over the sceptre to the Mughals, and the Afghans ought therefore to bear their lot with resignation, and bow before the divide decree.'[60]

But the Afghans still refused in this their supreme moment to bend their stiff necks, and their total defeat followed. Their conqueror[61] did not stay his hand till he had absolutely exterminated them as a race. For this exploit he received the title of the Hercules of the Age, with the exalted official rank of Commander of Six Thousand Horse. But even his severity forms a memorial of the generosity of the Muhammadans in dealing with people of their own religion—a generosity which Christians would do well to imitate. He broke up their clans into families, distributing them among the villages of Orissa, and thus deprived them of the means of political combination, while he provided for them lands sufficient to maintain the dignity of the Muham-

[59] Sanads.

[60] See Stewart, *Hist. Beng.* p. 134, who, with regard to this period, follows the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

[61] Shuja'at Khan. Stewart (*Hist. Beng.*) speaks of their final defeat on the banks of the Subarnarekha, but gives by mistake, as an account of the battle, the story of another fight which must have been fought close to Dacca, as the Moslem general is recorded to have received daily reinforcements from that city, and have marched to the battle-field, fought the engagement, and returned within twenty-three days. Blochmann MSS.

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madan race. They soon became absorbed in the petty land-holding class, and twenty years later formed so marked a feature in the rural population as to attract the notice of the Dutch. In 1631 Joannes de Laet[62] states, indeed, that the Uriyas were chiefly Muhammadans, meaning, no doubt, the chief families in each of the Orissa villages. But the haughty Afghan conquerors of India could not settle into industrious husbandmen. During the past two centuries they have dwindled in numbers and in wealth, and now form an altogether insignificant class of the rural community. Of the three Districts into which Orissa is divided,[63] they do not exceed one-fourteenth of the population in Cuttack, the one in which they muster strongest. Of the 1486 separate estates of Balasor District, they only hold 93 petty properties, paying an average rent to Government of but £17 a year. In the southern District of Orissa, Puri, they have fallen still lower, and do not now number one per cent. of the population.[64]

The Hindu element having thus been conciliated, and the Afghans exterminated, Orissa became a favourite governship of the Mughal Empire. About the year 1600 Akbar granted it with Bengal to his eldest son, who afterwards succeeded him. Five years later, the aged Emperor on his deathbed, while declaring his first-born heir to his throne, desired that his grandson[65] should be assured of any asylum in the same distant and fertile Province. The new Emperor[66] in 1606 made over these favourite governorships to his foster-brother.[67] From 1612 to 1622, Orissa and Bengal rested under the strong rule of the brother-in-law[68] of the Empress, whose beauty and wit had raised her from a lowly station to the throne of the world.

But the military position of Orissa pointed it out as a natural permanent basis of revolt. In 1621 the rebellious Prince, Shah Jahan, the son of the Emperor, and himself destined on his

[62] *De Imperio Magni Mongolis, sive India Vera.* Elzevir, 1631. Its author, Joannes de Laet, was one of the earliest Directors of the Dutch East India Company, and it has been translated by E. Lethbridge, Calcutta 1871. The worthy Dutch Director dismisses Orissa with five lines—just sufficient to show that he knew nothing about it.

[63] By the time of Hunter Orissa as a part of Bengal Presidency consisted of only three districts viz. Cuttack, Balasor, and Puri. At present as a separate stage it consists of thirteen districts. The Muslims form hardly 2% of the whole population of the present state of Orissa.

[64] Hunter takes these facts from his *Statistical Accounts*, based upon local inquiries. In briefly reciting the Afghan history of Orissa, he has not deemed it right to encumber the text with the details of their petty fighting. Those who are interested in such matters will find them set forth in Appendix II. They have been compiled from the Persian originals, viz. the *Akbar-namah*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, *Badaoni*, and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

[65] Prince Khasru.

[66] Jahangir.

[67] Kutb-ud-din.

[68] Ibrahim Khan, who married a sister of Nur Jahan.

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father's death to succeed to the throne, after flying some thousand miles before the royal forces, found a safe asylum in Orissa. From its safe network of rivers he sallied forth, exactly as the Afghan chiefs had done before him, on Bengal. His army swelled after each petty victory; and although the European factories faithfully adhered to the Emperor, the rebel managed to get together some artillery under vagabond Christians, which enabled him to hold important cities of the Province. Secure of a retreat into the almost impenetrable delta of Orissa, the young Prince willingly accepted great risks, and accordingly won unexpected victories. In the end he slew the Imperial Governor, and from 1622 to 1624[69] ruled Bengal in the teeth of his father the Emperor's armies. The last-named year witnessed his defeat. He fell back upon Orissa; and after placing that Province between him and the Imperial troops, wrote a penitential letter to his father, and was forgiven.

Seventy years elapsed before Orissa again emerges in the history of the Empire. In 1695, the head of the Afghan clan gathered together the remnants of his race still scattered throughout the Province, joined his forces with those of a disaffeced Bengal chief, and raised the standard of revolt against the Empire.[70] During the three years' war which followed, the base of operations of the Imperial armies was Dacca, in the network of the Gangetic rivers; that of the rebel troops was Orissa, the delta of the Mahanadi. Then intermediate country formed the arena on which Afghan valour and want of wisdom displayed themselves for the last time to the Indian world. The European Settlements again proved loyal to the Delhi Emperor; and to this war, the Dutch, French, and English owed the permission to fortify the factories, which afterwards overturned the Imperial throne.

Two romantic episodes rescue this struggle from the oblivion to which I, in general, consign the dreary hostilities that have hitherto made up Indian history. At the siege of the capital of Bardwan district, when all hope of relief had departed, the ladies of the Hindu Raja's family resolved with one consent to prefer death to the mercies of rebel. The Raja himself, whose descendant enjoys the principality as one of the great subjects of the Indian Government, had fallen in battle outside the walls. While the rebels poured into the city, the whole ladies of the palace took poison, and the conquerors broke into their apartments only to find them dead. On one, however, the poison had not acted, and she was reserved for the rebel chief. But no arts could persuade the noble Hindu girl to receive such a lover. The

69 Or perhaps 1625; authorities differ.

70 Rahim Khan was the name of the Orissa Afghan chief; Subha Sinh, a Bardwan Zamindar, that of the rebel Bengal leader.

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enraged rebel at last substituted force for entreaty, on which the Princess drew a knife from her clothes, stabbed the ruffian to the heart, and then plunged it in her own. The Burdwan Maharajas still commemorate these heroic ladies by a graceful domestic ritual each succeeding spring.[71]

So perished the Bengal chief of the rebels. On his death the insurgent army raised the Orissa Afghan leader to the sole command, and he assumed the royal title. This last representative of a conquering race has left behind a story of a nobler sort than that by which the name of the Bengal chief survives. He tried to strengthen his party by diplomacy not less than by valour. But a great fief-holder of the Empire, near Murshidabad, threw back his overtures with scorn, calmly saying, 'that being an officer in His Majesty's service, and a faithful subject, his duty and his inclination alike forbade him to espouse such a cause.' The Afghan swooped down upon the loyal feudatory with a column of horse; and as such struggles were constantly decided by single combat between the leaders, a nephew of the attacked chief rode out and challenged any warrior of the Afghan army. No single horseman responded, and the Orissa Afghans basely closed round the youth and cut him to pieces. Forthwith the loyal fief-holder, in rage and indignation, 'although only dressed in a single vest of fine muslin, and without waiting to put on his helmet, vaulted on his horse, and galloped to the field.' Such a challenge the Afghan chief could not refuse, and in the duel which followed the Imperial officer's sword shivered into pieces against the Afghan helmet. The loyal chief, seeing nothing but death before him, hurled the hilt of his weapon into the rebel's face. This last act of despair almost gave him the victory. The Afghan fell stunned from his horse; and his opponent, leaping to the ground, plunged his dagger at the Orissa leader's throat. But the helmet chain warded off the first blow, and before a second could be given the combatants were encircled by the Afghan troopers, and a thousand scimitars pierced the breast of the loyal chief.

The Orissa Afghans now advanced northwards through all Bengal, sacking cities and firing villages as they went. No one dared to tell the disastrous tidings at Delhi, and the Emperor first learned from a newspaper that his fairest Province had been wrested from the Empire. He despatched in hot haste against the rebels a soldier of fortune, whose very name, Strongfist,[72] bears witness to the troubles then gathering round the Mughal dynasty. After another year of confused fighting, during which the rebel leader enjoyed the pomp and the cares of sovereignty, the in-

[71] Hunter obtained this account in conversations with His Highness the then Maharaja, to whom he was also obliged for several important letters, *Sanads*, and family documents.

[72] Zabar-dast Khan.

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surgents were utterly defeated (1698), and the Orissa Afghans disappear for ever from history.

But Orissa still remained a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Empire. The politic Governor who ruled Bengal from 1704 to 1725, in despair of being able to get in its revenues by civil administrators, made it over to soldiers of fortune, who collected the land-tax at the spear-point, and kept back as much of it as they dared from their distant master. As the latter strengthened his power, however, he sent his son-in-law[73] to govern Orissa, 1706, and annexed the northern part[74] of the Province to Bengal. But he did not venture to subject it to the rigid revenue system which he enforced in the latter country, and Orissa seems to have been justly and leniently managed under his son-in-law till 1724. This politic chief tried to deprive the Province of its traditional character as an asylum for revolt by breaking through its isolation. He established a post twice a day to his father-in-law's capital at Murshidabad, and on the death of that Prince took advantage of the improved means of communication to ride off to Bengal with a column of Orissa Horse, with which he peaceably seized the Government of both Provinces.

Five years afterwards, 1729-30, I find the Orissa mercenaries employed to subdue the northern Province of Behar; and on the appointment of a new Governor[75] of Bengal, 1740, the Orissa soldiery rose in arms to support the family of their late leader. In short, the new Bengal Governor again found an Orissa insurrection on his hands in the first year of his rule, and the Province maintained its old reputation as an intolerable incubus on the Empire. By this time the final calamities were closing round the Mughal dynasty. In 1742 the Marhattas came down upon Bengal, and found Orissa an admirable basis for their annual inroads, exactly as the Afghans had for their revolts. Nine years later, 1751, the Governor of Bengal gladly bought them off by making over to them the chronically rebellious Province. He flattered himself that he lost nothing by ridding himself of a territory that had proved from time immemorial a festering sore in the side of the Empire, and grudged much more the petty tribute of £120,000 a year which he had to pay the Marhattas for Bengal.[76]

[73] Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan. The first plan of making over Orissa as military fiefs was carried out by Murshid Kuli Khan in 1701, as Diwan of Bengal. He became sole Governor of the Province in 1704.

[74] Midnapur District. Stewart's *Hist. Beng.* 232.

[75] Ali Vardi Khan.

[76] The Abstract of the Treaty, as given by Stewart, runs thus:

'1. That Mir Habib (an Orissa ally of the Marhattas) should be considered as the deputy of the Nawab; that he should receive orders to appropriate the revenues of Orissa to the payment of the arrears due to

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The treaty of 1751, which severed Orissa from the Mughal Empire, nominally preserved the dignity of the Emperor, and appointed an Afghan chief to govern in his name. But although the Commissions still bore the Imperial seal, the Imperial Deputy collected the Land Tax with Marhatta Troopers, and made over £40,000 a year (practically all the revenue he could collect) to the Marhatta Prince. In a very short time this last pageant of dependence upon the Empire disappeared. The Afghan Deputy was assassinated, and his successor speedily found himself unable to carry on even the appearance of a Government. The ancient feudal organization among the peasantry and native chiefs, although long since powerless for purposes of useful defence, still availed for harassing resistance. In 1755-56 the nominal Deputy of the Mughal Emperor could not wring even the stipulated Marhatta tribute of £40,000 a year out of the Province, and begged to be released from his office. A few months later (1757) a Marhatta obtained the undisguised Governorship,[77] and from that date till 1803 Orissa remained a Marhatta Province.

In the same year Clive fought the battle of Plassey, and wrested the adjoining Province of Bengal from the Delhi throne. The Mughals lost Orissa only when they had ceased to be worthy of holding it. Akbar's two Hindu generals, in the sixteenth century, established a system of Civil Government upon the wreck of the Hindu dynasties. Their wisdom and policy gave the unhappy Province a hundred years almost of rest (1590-1695 A.D.); but from the end of this period the feebleness of the Delhi Court, and the venality and perfidy of its servants in Bengal, obliterate every trace of Civil administration in Orissa. A greedy and generally a disloyal Deputy wrung from it an uncertain revenue, in the name of the Emperor, but for his own behoof. The wretched peasantry, ground down beneath a military occupation, had no appeal to any superior power which had an interest in preserving them from destruction. A rapid succession of rude soldiers harried the Province, and got together as much plunder as their brief tenure of office allowed them. Of the infamies that

the troops of Raja Raghuji Bhonsla; and that over and above the said assignment, the sum of twelve lakhs of rupees should be paid to the said Raja's agents yearly, on condition that the Marhattas should not again set foot in His Highness the Bengal Governor's territories.'

'2. That the river Subarnarekha, which runs by Balasor, should be considered as the boundary between the two dominions; and that the Marhattas should never cross that river, nor even set foot in its waters.'

The text of the abstract gives the word Sunamukhi, probably by mistake for Subarnarekha. The latter runs by Jaleswar, a little north of Balasor. The only river which runs past Balasor itself is the Burabalang. Another abstract of the treaty is given by Stirling, *As. Res.* xv. p. 298, fixing the limits of the ceded country between the Fiscal Division of Pataspur and Malud on the Chilka. See also Duff's *Hist. Marhattas*, ii. 39,54 (Bombay ed. 1863); Orme's *Indostan*. ii. 44 (Madras ed. 1861).

[77] Orme, 274, Madras ed. 1861. *As. Res.* xv. 209.

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were perpetrated in his name, the distant Emperor knew nothing. Even the military disorders which had their permanent root in Orissa, and which from time to time threatened the whole of Bengal, seldom reached his ears. The Muhammadan bigot on the Peacock Throne heard of the greatest of these revolts only when the rebel army had conquered half Bengal, and even then he was left to learn it from a chance paragraph in a newspaper. If ever the time comes when the British Government fears to listen to the truth, or when its servants hesitate to speak out unwelcome facts, the period will have arrived for those who hold Indian stock to sell out at any sacrifice.

But wretched as the state of Orissa had been under the Mughals, a half century of deeper misery remained for it under the Marhattas. The memory of these fifty years haunted the whole population like a nightmare, long afer it passed under British rule. One of our earliest Commissioners gathered together the oral and manuscript records of the period ; and the result is a scene of extortion, desolation, and rapine, which even at this distance cannot be read without indignation and horror.[78] I refrain from reproducing details which disgust without instructing. His opening sentence contains the argument of the whole: 'The Administration of the Marhattas in this, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, was fatal to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country ; and exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have kept together under so calamitous a tyranny.'

The Marhatta Prince had his capital or standing camp at Nagpur, in Central India, and waged incessant war upon his neighbours. His Deputies, who were constantly changed and imprisoned on their recall, struggled to wring out of Orissa—the only peaceful Province of his kingdom—a sufficiency to supply the military necessities of their master. Whoever had money was the natural enemy of the State. The ancient Royal House was first plundered. The Marhatta Deputy doubled the tribute at which the Muhammadans had confirmed him for ever in his estates. Instead of £90,000 a year, the Marhatta demanded £180,000[79] ; and as his whole revenue (public and private) was only £200,000, even the Marhatta cavalry failed to make good this extortion. All the offices connected with raising the revenue were sold to the highest bidder at the Marhata Court in Central India, six hundred miles off. Every Deputy who came to Orissa had ruined himself in order to buy his appointment, and he well knew that the time allowed him for rebuilding his fortunes would

[78] Stirling's Account in *As. Res.* xv. 299-305, quarto.

[79] Mackenzie MSS. Bengal As. Society's Library, vol. xv. (unpaged); and MS. materials in the Revenue commissioner's office in Orissa.

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be but short. From the hereditary Orissa Prince he managed to wring about £130,000 a year; the smaller proprietors he ousted without mercy from their lands; and he laid heavy burdens upon the pilgrims of Jagannath.[80] By degrees these atrocities began to work their own cure. The peasant militia of Orissa, strong in their network of rivers, defied the Marhatta troops; and the collection of he revenue in the hilly frontier simply reduced itself to an annual campaign, 'in which, to say nothing of the expenditure of blood and treasure, the Marhattas were nearly as often worsted as successful.'[81]

I have most carefully examined the records of this period, but I can detect absolutely no trace of anything like a Civil Administration. The Marhatta cavalry harried the country at stated periods each year, and deprted with the spoil. The village communes alone stand out above the stormy waste of waters, and their internal organization formed the only sort of Civil Government during the forty years which preceded our accession. This organization I have described in Previous Chapter and shall again refer to in the following pages. Each village had its semi-hereditary, semi-elective heads, who ruled the hamlet and represented it to the Marhatta receiver. When the extortions of the latter passed all bounds, the village temporized till it could get its head-men out of his clutches, and then the whole community decamped with its cattle into the jungle. Fixed property did not exist, and the peasantry soon learned the powerlesness of cavalry amid morasses and forests. The few landholders who had houses worth burning, belted them round with dense thickets of bamboos. A winding narrow passage afforded the sole means of approach, and these jungles formed secure fortifications against invaders who would only fight on horseback. Such greenwood defences survive to this day. Once in the Tributary States,[82] being struck by the close overgrown site of a chieftain's fort, an old man explained to me that the jungle had been planted to keep off the Marhatta Horse.

But though the swamps and forests yielded an asylum from the Marhatta spearmen, the peasantry could not fly from the consequences of their own flight. The Province lay untilled, and any failure of the unparalleled bounty of nature, which each Autumn turns the Delta into a sheet of rice, produced a famine. Within seven years two terrible scarcities afflicted Orissa. We know what happened in 1866, when rice rose to three-pence per pound, and three-quarters of a million of men perished within six months, in spite of every effort of Government. What, then, must have been the misery of the people in 1770, when silver had three times its present purchasing power, and yet rice rose to

[80] *Vide ante*, Chap. I.
[81] *As. Res.* xv. 302.
[82] In Athgarh.

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sixpence per pound? The natural scarcity in Orissa was at least six times as great; and instead of being mitigated, as in 1866, by State importations and relief depots, it was intensified by a mutiny of foreign troops. While the people were dying by hundreds of thousands on every roadside, the Marhatta soldiery threw off the last vestige of control, and for many months ranged like wild beasts across the country. Seven years afterwards, 1777, another great famine ensued; and as the Marhatta power at Nagpur decayed, each party into which it split separately harried and plundered the Province.[83]

I willingly close a chapter in which each successive paragraph would have to disclose a deeper abyss of human misery. Our early Commissioner, with the results of those fifty years of affliction before his eyes, might well wonder 'how society could have kept together.' To some of the lasting effects of Marhatta misrule, such as depopulation and the most revolting form of slavery, I shall reluctantly have to return, in unfolding the state of the Province when it passed under British Rule.

[83] The turbulence and unrest of the Marhatta soldiery in Orissa broke out in constant raids against the adjoining districts, and have left memorials alike to the north and to the south. Bayley's memorandum on Midnapur, dated 7th January 1852, p. 100, etc., Proceeding of Government, Persian Department, December 17, 1764. In the Government Records of those days, the Marhattas constantly appear as 'plundering.' One instance will suffice. 'Three months the Marhattas have remained here,' wrote the Raja of Bardwan to Government, 'plundering and laying waste the whole country; now, thank God, they are all gone, but the inhabitants have not yet returned.' Progs. Persian Dept., August 1760. *Sel. Unpublished Records,* by J. Long, Calc. 1869, No. 491.

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CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH AS SETTLERS AND GOVERNORS IN ORISSA

The ecclesiastical annalists complain that no materials exist for the history of Innocent VI., 'the most powerful and most prudent of the Avignonese Pontiffs.'[1] The other Popes who disgraced the Tiara, and stained the chair of St. Peter with blood, have left behind them ample records to attest the miseries which they inflicted on mankind. But in the correspondence of the pious Limousin, who governed the Church in the middle of the fourteenth century, scarcely a single document of historical importance can be found. The Archives of his Pontificate yield only a few papers on dry official matters, trifling dispensations, and technical decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts. From the absence of the materials for history, the Church Annalists have rightly inferred the peaceful and prosperous character of his rule. In the last chapter I have exhibited the stirring series of events and revolutions which took place in Orissa under its Muhammadan and Marhatta conquerors. But no sooner did the Province pass under British sway in 1803, than the materials, hitherto so abundant, suddenly cease, and the history of Orissa comes to an end. Conflicts with external enemies become a thing of the past; invasions and military occupations fade from the memory of the people; a single local rising is the only warlike event I have to narrate; and the Province which, during four centuries, had formed the traditional asylum of revolt, has lapsed into the most peaceful part of the British Empire.

True to our national character, we settled in Orissa as merchants long before we made our appearance as rulers. Our earliest factory in Bengal lay within its boundaries; but even this factory does not represent the first connection of Orissa with a European Power. In 1498 the Portuguese arrived in India *via* the Cape, and during the next sixteen years established themselves on the Madras coast. The natives, alarmed by their growing importance, fell upon their principal fort, temporarily expelled the foreigners, and about 1514 A.D. pushed them northward to the mouth of the Subarnarekha in Orissa.[2] Here they founded a fugitive colony at the town of Pippli, now a ruined and silt-locked village, about ten miles up the river, but then a

[1] Milman, *Hist. Latin Christianity*, vol. viii. p. 12, ed. 1867.
[2] Travels of Sebastien Manrique; Murray's *Asiatic Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 99, ed. 1820.

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fine harbour commanding a free approach from the sea. They did not seem, however, to gain very much by their new settlement; and while the names of the Dutch, French, Danes, and English still live in the mouths of the people, that of the Portuguese has utterly disappeared.

From a letter written by our servants, dated Patna, 1620, the Portuguese appear as still in possession of Pippli at that date. But they had during the previous fifteen years made themselves very unpopular with the Mughal Governor of Bengal. On the other side of the Bay, in their great settlement at Chittagong, their bigotry had provoked a Muhammadan persecution, which ended in their defying the Mughal Government, and establishing themselves as an independent piratical power in Eastern Bengal. They blockaded the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, and invaded Bengal with a host of Arakanese savages, whose devastations compelled the Moslem Governor to fix his capital in the heart of the Delta, so as to be nearer the seat of the war.[3] In 1621, the Portuguese at Hugli refused artillery to the Prince who reached the Delhi throne six years later. Accordingly, in 1632 the Imperial troops sacked the refractory city, slew a thousand of the foreigners, and drove off other four thousand as slaves. The new Emperor could not forget their refusal to help him when a rebel Prince; and in 1634 he established ourselves on the ruins of the ancient Portuguese settlement at Pippli, in the north of Orissa.[4] Two years afterwards, an English surgeon[5] had the good fortune to cure a daughter of the Emperor whose clothes had caught fire, and in 1640 he successfully treated one of the ladies of the Bengal Viceroy's zanana. When asked to name his own reward, the patriotic doctor said he wished nothing for himself, but begged that his countrymen might be allowed a maritime settlement in Bengal. The public spirited surgeon died before he could even receive the thanks of his masters, but not before the Imperial commissions had been made out granting the English a land factory at Hugli, and a maritime settlement at Balasor.

These two Orissa harbours—Pippli, founded in 1635, and Balasor, founded in 1642[6]—formed the basis of future greatness in Orissa. Two other European nations, not less enterprising than ourselves, had appeared in that Province before us, and

[3] A.D. 1607-1609. Moslem capital changed from Rajmahal in Western to Dacca in Eastern Bengal.

[4] Joannes de Laet, *de Imperio Magni Mongolis*, bears witness to the Portuguese at Pippli (Philip-patam) in 1631. Lethbridge, the able editor of that work, says that an interesting account of this port is to be found among the Dutch archives, transferred in 1853 from Chinsura to the Hague .

[5] Gabriel Boughton, of the ship *Hopewell.*

[6] Wheeler's *Madras, from the Official Records*, i. 32, footnote.

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managed to monopolize the best sites for trade. The Portuguese had fortified themselves in the royal port of Hugli, and their fleets commanded the whole seaboard from Chittagong to Orissa (A.D. 1517-1615). The Dutch had joined with the native powers to put down the Portuguese, established themselves on the ruins of the eastern settlements of that nation (1615), and effected an entrance into Bengal (1625). But the very advantages of the Dutch and Portuguese settlements proved their ruin. They found themselves involved in the incessant struggles and revolutions which afflicted Bengal, long before they were strong enough to take part with safety in so great a game. The Delhi Emperor viewed with well-grounded suspicion the establishment of an *Imperium in Imperio* in the Gangetic valley. After harassing the settlers with exactions and ignominies of various sorts, he decided that no European ship should enter any of the Bengal rivers; and when our patriotic surgeon extored from him a great maritime settlement for the English, he fixed it outside, on the Orissa coast. There we obscurely grew strong, remote from the great events in Mughal history, and generally able to hold our own amid the toubles which on a smaller scale afflicted that Province.

Our two land factories at Hugli and Patna, to which no English ship might penetrate, suffered the oppressions and misfortunes incident to Asiatic misrule, and from which our Orissa harbours escaped. Between 1664 and 1677 the difficulties of our position on the Hugli led to our establishment of what we called Pilot-boats, a sort of furtive fleet for running the blockade of the Bengal rivers. Our vexations nevertheless continued so great, that in 1677-78 we threatened to withdraw from Bengal altogether. What between the ignominious poll-tax on us as infidels, and tolls, bribes, transit duties, and forced presents of guns and horses, the English factors on the Ganges led a life of peril and contumely which our Orissa settlements knew nothing of. Till 1680, the latter remained the sole harbours which English ships dared to frequent; and although in that year we got an Imperial grant allowing our vessels to enter the Ganges, and saluted it with 300 guns, the new privilege proved at first only a source of new difficulties.

Meanwhile the Orissa Settlements continued to flourish. Silver had still six times the purchasing power which it has now, and the Orissa factors bought up at the lowest prices for ready money the fine muslins of Cuttack. The troubles of the times made it prudent to concentrate their forces, and the silting up of the Subarnarekha led to the transfer of the original factory at Pippli to the head establishment at Balasor. Here we fortified ourselves in a strong position, defended by the river on one side, and by a precipitous channel which we deepened into a natural moat, almost the whole way round the other three. We mounted guns on the ramparts, an armed sloop or two lay off in the river,

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and our merchant-fleet bristling with cannon commanded the Balasor Roads sixteen miles down. Afghan and Mughal worried each other without let or hindrance on our part. Every year our factors made their advances in good English silver, and got together an 'Investment' in country goods. High profits covered the losses which the marauding soldiery now and then inflicted on us, when they burned a weaving village which had got an advance from the factory, or speared a few hundred artisans working at our expense. Indeed, the universal misery of the Province rather strengthened our hands. The only safe place for quiet people was the English factory. Industry and commerce gathered themselves together around it, and manufecturing hamlets nestled within the shadow of its walls. We were always ready to bear a good deal rather than to take the risks of war, and, generally speaking, we were courted rather than attacked. Amid the constant flux and reflux of parties and warring races in Orissa, the English factory, with its guns on the ramparts, stood forth as the one permanent power. When no fair concession would satisfy a belligerent chief, our factors loaded their cannon, lit their matches, and told him to come on.

The English in Orissa could not, however, escape the disasters which involved their countrymen throughout all India during he last years of the seventeenth century. In 1685, our Bengal servants, driven to extremity by the oppresssion of the Mughal Governors, threw down the gauntlet. The Company fitted out two fleets, one to capture the Mughal ships trading from Surat, the other, with six hundred regular troops on board, to wage war by sea and land upon Bengal.[7] Of the latter, Job Charnock, who twelve years afterwards founded Calcutta, took the command. But his flotilla did not prosper, and he was forced to take shelter on a malarious island at the mouth of the Hugli.[8] After a treaty, which would have condemned the English to the fever-stricken swamps[9] amid which that river merges into the sea, but which we broke within three months after we had made it, the war was renewed (1688). This time Captain Heath commanded ; and after in vain negotiating for a fortified factory on the present site of Calcutta,[10] to secure the Company's trade 'from he villanies of every petty Governor,'[11] he determined to quit Bengal altogether. He accordingly embarked all the Company's servants and goods from their 'fenceless factories,' sailed down the Hugli, and anchored in the Balasor Roads. Here the

[7] Orme, ii, p. 11.
[8] Injili.
[9] At Ulabaria on the Hugli, then a part of Orissa, and now the port at which the Orissa Canals debouch upon the Gangetic Delta.
[10] Then called Suta-nati.
[11] Letter signed William Heath, dated 'Aboard the *Resolution*,' 11th October 1688.

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Muhammadan Governor gave some trouble, and seized two of 'the English gentlemen' of the local factory. Captain Heath improved the brief period which he allowed for a negotiation with this magnate, by capturing two French ships that happened to arrive in the Roads. He then landed his troops, dislodged the Muhammadans from their outposts, and finally drove them from their 'grand bulwark,' which had only 'about half a dozen great guns, disorderly placed and unskilfully levelled.'[12] In short, our English sailors behaved as they always have behaved in front of an enemy. The Moslem Governor soon had enough of them, and very gladly acceped a new treaty which the Viceroy of Bengal had just signed.

From this time forward, the English factory had little to fear from the Muhammadan Governors of Orissa. It pursued its speculations unconcerned amid the wreck of the Mughal Empire, calmly storing up its merchandise behind its cannon-mounted parapets. Nevertheless it declined in importance, as its younger rival on the Hugli gradually grew out of a cluster of mud-huts into the metropolis of India. Nature also, and the bar-building ocean, declared against it. Throughout the seventeenth century, the influences which throw up banks across the mouth of the Orissa rivers went on steadily with their work. Our earliest port on the Subarnarekha, a little to the north of Balasor, had early been ruined by this cause. The time of desolation was now rapidly approaching for Balasor itself, and a traveller in 1708 found the river blockaded by 'a very dangerous bar, sufficiently well known by the many wrecks and losses made by it.'[13] Even then, however, the approach remained much better than it is now. During the next century the river and the sea threw up several miles of new land, and the town, which in 1708 was only four miles as the crow flies from the shore, is now seven. Indeed, all the Orissa channels have deteriorated since then, and the same traveller mentions a fine estuary of the Cuttack River with 42 feet of water on the bar at spring tides, which has now completely silted up.[14]

Nevertheless Balasor still continued to flourish. The troubles of the times made us abandon our old factory at Cuttack, the inland capital of the Province; and Balasor thus monopolized the whole trade of Orissa. This, too, in spite of the fact that goods sold at sixty per cent. cheaper in Cuttack marked than at Balasor.[15] The truth is, that it had ceased to be safe for European merchants to trade anywhere beyond reach of their

[12] Captain Heath's Log-book, dated 29th November 1688; quoted from the *East India and Colonial Magazine* by the *Englishman's weekly Journal*, Calcutta, April 22, 1871.

[13] Hamilton's *East Indies from 1688 to 1723*, vol. i. p. 393, ed. 1727.

[14] Hamilton's *East Indies*, p. 389.

[15] Hamilton's *East Indies*, p. 391.

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ships. We have seen how in 1688 our Admiral had resolved to quit Bengal for ever, shipped our servants and goods from the Hugli factories, and stood out to sea. The Orissa factories, as they declined in importance, were in even a more hazardous state. The great entrepot at Ganjam, our nearest factory to Balasor down the coast, had a Resident, a council, artillery, and troops. Yet even here, as late as 1768, the authorities insisted, as their sole hope of security, upon an armed vessel being anchored under the factory walls, 'sufficiently large to ship off our stores in the case of an absolute necessity.'[16] Indeed, a port soon proved the only place where a paying trade could be carried on at all. However cheap might be the inland markets, the tolls and Custom Houses along the road made the goods too dear for exportation before they reached the coast. Besides the royal officers who levied a tax at every few miles, each petty proprietor through whose estate the route lay lined the road with hungry myrmidons. Thus, in the short journey of 103 miles between Cuttack and Balasor, the tolls amounted in 1708 to thirty-two per cent. of the total value of the goods. To the southward the licensed depredators ventured on higher flights, and practically anyhing like inernal trade was rendered impossible by the incessant black mail along the roads. Thus, the transit duties on a shilling's worth of timber for forty-two miles by road in Ganjam district amounted to 1s. 4d., or 133 per cent. By a river route the extortions were even greater, and the cost of 8s. worth of timber mounted to 20s. 6d. for the same journey by water, and for tolls alone, irrespective of the cost of carriage.[17]

Accordingly, while all Orissa lay at the mercy of Afghan, Mughal, and Marhatta banditti, the English Factory at Balasor grew into a great seat of maritime trade. We easily got over the difficulty of the want of a local manufacturing population, by making that city the only safe place for peaceful industry in the Province. In Ganjam, the district adjoining Orissa on the south, the commanding officer proposed a regular military occupation of every important weaving village. His plan broke down, as the country was seventy miles long, and of great breadth; but the weavers were concentrated into large villages, and there protected while at work by the Company's troops. This system of removing the weavers 'from their old habitations,'[18] and arbitrarily fixing them in new centres of industry, opened a door for tyranny and forced labour on the part of the Factory. But in Orissa proper, the insecurity and distresses of the people had reached such a height, that they required no pressure to bring

[16] Ganjam MS. Proceedings, 31st December 1768. G. R.

[17] MS. Proceedings of Ganjam Factory, March 1790. G. R.

[18] Ganjam President's Report to the Governor in Council, 2nd July 1780. G. R.

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them within our fenced weaving villages. In the last century, peaceful industry in Orissa was possible only within range of Englih cannon, and thousands of weaving families flocked to Balasor and squatted around our Factory.

The merchants of other nations also found themselves compelled to concentrate their factories within reach of their ships. The Balasor citizens still point out the site of these ancient seats of trade. The English House,[19] a dilapidated two-storeyed edifice, has passed into the hands of Hindus, and the Tulsi plant, sacred to Krishna, stands outside the door. The windows of the upper storey, with their shrunken shutters and jealous iron bars, form the miserable outlets through which the ladies of the zanana peep. In the grounds an old mango tree shades a tank utterly grown over with slime; the outhouses stand roofless, with half their walls tumbled down; and a thatched vernadah added to the ancient central edifice gives a look of mean and squalid decay to the whole. In the Dutch Quarter[20] nothing remains but two dilapidated monuments to dead men, a mango grove, and a weed-chocked tank. One of the tombstones, a huge rectangular cone, testifies that 'Michiell Jans Burggraf Vanseven Huison, obiit 23 November Ao. 1696.' From the other the inscription has fallen out. The Dutch chose a strong place for their factory, surrounded by natural moats, and approached from the river by the 'Dutch Channel,'[21] now silted up. The river has long ago writhed itself away from the Dutch Quarter, and great rice-fields now stretch between the site of their Factory and the bank.

The Danish Settlement[22] was also fortified by a natural moat, which connected it with the river and defended it from land attacks. On the north side the industrious merchants had excavated a dock, now a filthy slimy hollow, with the black undecked skeleton of a ship rotting in it. The French had their Factory a few miles below the present town of Balasor, embowered in foliage upon the high river-bank. The rivalries and heart-burnings of these clustering colonies of merchants have long since been hushed, and the only monuments that bear witness to their existence at Balasor are their tombs. The English graveyard[23] shows that, amid all the confusion of the breaking up of the Mughal power in Orissa, amid all the miseries and maraudings of the Marhatta rule which followed, the armed merchants of Balasor married and gave in marriage, had children born into the world, and themselves departed out of it, just as they do in a quiet English village. Little copper flags surmounted many of the tombs; and one of them, with the letters H. S. cut on

[19] Ingrezi Kothi. [20] Hollandais-sahi. [21] Hollandais-naia.

[22] Dinemar-dingi; cf. Dinemar-danga (Danish-Land), a village near the French Settlement of Chandernagor on the Hugli.

[23] In Barabati, well away from the river and its channels.

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it bears witness to the faith of the sleeper in the Saviour of Men. The dates of the tombs begin about 1751, and one cannot help being struck by the low average of life which the inscriptions disclose. The graves of women lie thickest, the sick children having been removed to a village four miles off, on the sea-coast, for change of air; stricken parents struggling to give the dying little one a last chance. As in most of our ancient graveyards in the Delta, the ground has silted up so as to cover some of the tombs, and I had to dig down for the inscriptions. The monuments have the sad and tasteless look of English obituary architecture of that day—heavy masonry platforms; crushing mausoleums, angular piles of brick, black and weather-stained. No trees shade the dismal spot. The deadly dhutura plant, with its spiked-ball fruit, alone rears its poisonous growth; and a dismal wall of blackish whitewashed brick, with the plaster peeling off, shuts in the little colony of English graves. On one side the ever-closed windows of a rich Hindu's zanana peer down upon the scene.

But the era of armed industry which these graves represent was drawing to a close. As long as the Mughals or Afghans retained their hold on Orissa, trade was possible if protected by cannon. But after these races abandoned the Province to Marhatta misrule in 1751, our operations became circumscribed within the factory walls. Thirty years later the Marhattas demanded black mail from the then British Province of Bengal, and we found ourselves too weak to venture on any bolder policy than conciliation and bribes.[24] But the experience of the next twenty years convinced us, that if we were ourselves to remain in India, the Marhattas must be driven out of Orissa. In this Province they had fixed themselves between the British territories of Madras and Bengal, and they used their position as a stronghold from which to sally out on both. On the north-west lay our District of Midnapur, studded with English Factories, the chief[25] of which was at Jaleswar, just beyond the boundary of modern Orissa. On the Commercial Resident of this place devolved the duty of holding the British frontier against the Marhatta Horse. In 1785 I find him writing urgently for more Sepoys; and four years later, a long list of 'acts of violence' had to be submitted to the Governor-General.[26] They devastated the counry to the

[24] The Secret Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 30th April 1781, leaves no doubt that Warren Hastings' 'loan' of £120,000 to the Marhattas was really what Philip Francis declares it to be—a bribe. *Vide* Memorandum on Records in the Foreign Department, by the Secretary to the Record Commission, p. 43, fol. 1865.

[25] *Vide* MS. Archives of the Board of Revenue and Midnapur District; E. D. Letters from the Resident at Jaleswar, 14th March 1785, 23rd June 1785, etc.; B. R. R.; M. R.

[26] Letter to Governor-General enclosing Report of Collector of Midnapur, April 1789. B. R. R.

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banks of the Hugli itself, and a rich tract on that river now teeming with population, and then a favourite summer retreat of Warren Hastings, had become an absolute waste in 1789.[27]

The hill country which walls in Orissa from the north fared even worse. Almost the only records which I find of the period are reports of depredations or entreaties for troops.[28] Besides the incessant raids on the highland chiefs, the Marhattas every now and then organized regular invasions. The largest of the Hill States suffered two such calamities within a few years; in the first of which the capital was taken, and the Raja forced to fly with his Princess to the wild tribes in the far recesses of the hills. These simple people received the royal refugees with characteristic hospitality, and 'by voluntary gifts' raised a sufficient sum to bribe the Marhatta invaders to quit the country.[29]

But the hand of the Marhattas fell heaviest on our Settlements to the southward. The long maritime strip of the Madras coast, which gave the local Dynasties of Orissa so much trouble, had in the eighteenth century become a peaceable English Province. The Governors of Madras bore also the title of 'President for the Right Honourable Company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa,'[30] and practically the principal relations of the latter Province continued, as under its native Princes, with the southward. A line of Factories ran up the coast, and at Ganjam, just beyond the present southern bundary of Orissa, we had a great commercial establishment governed by a Council and Chief. I have carefully gone over the Archives of Ganjam, and it is impossible to imagine a more complete picture of marauding misrule than they present. Here was a body of English gentlemen doing business on the largest scale,[31] and requiring a little army to protect their warehouses, with ships anchored in the river to carry off them and their goods in case of need. Such need might arise at any hour. We frequently hear in the Ganjam Records of Marhatta hosts from Cuttack, 'with six thousand horse and some foot.'[32] Reports of an alliance of the French with the Marhattas, to utterly root us out of the country, from time to time alarmed the isolated English Factory.[33] In August 1780, the President announces a force of twenty-five thousand Marhattas coming down upon the district. In the following

[27] Birkul. Bayley's MS. Memorandum on Midnapur, p. 121. C. R.; M. R.

[28] *E.d.* Letters from Collector of Midnapur to Governor-General, and replies dated June, October, November, December 1783, etc. B. R. R.

[29] Memo. on Morbhanj, dated 20th March 1805, para. 7. C. R.

[30] Madras Proceedings, 7th July 1698. Wheeler, i. 336.

[31] I find £13,000 for the single item of 'advances to the weavers.' Letter to President and Council, 13th March 1790. G. R.

[32] Proceedings, January 12, 1769. G. R.

[33] *E.d.* 27th February 1770. G. R.

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November the Proceedings bewail the devastations of 'such a rabble of Marhattas marching through the country, that even if they were friends they would be very dangerous.' The Resident had more than once to declare that the further existence of the Ganjam Factory depended upon what arrangement the 'gentlemen in Bengal' could make with the Marhatta chiefs.[34]

It may well be supposed that a trade conducted under such conditions could yield but small profit. And unhappily in Ganjam we had already become great land-holders, as well as great merchants and manufacturers. The main question was not so much how to protect the weaving villages as how to get in our rents. The country was covered with forts,[35] which, while they served as strongholds against the Marhattas, also supplied a defence against our land-bailiffs. These memorials of misrule have long ago ceased to be visible in any old settled British Province. But in the more recently annexed tracts of Central India they still dot the landscape, and the traveller by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway sees them for hundreds of miles along his route. Wherever the Marhattas established themselves, such strongholds sprung up. They afforded the very sort of protection required against rapidly moving bodies of horse, and in Ganjam the peasant drove his cattle within their gates with equal celerity on the appearance of the Marhatta cavalry or of the English Rent-collector. The forts proved very unpleasant things to deal with, and the descriptions in the Records show that the Ganjam husbandmen adoped exactly the same style of defences against the Marhattas, as the fastnesses still visible in Central and Western India. One is described as 'about 120 yards square, with towers in the angles, and another in the middle of each curtain, except in the east front, where there is a large projecting gateway ; the walls not under 18 nor above 22 feet in height, and a ditch running round three sides, in many parts with deep water ; the fourth side defended by a thick wood, which runs to within 150 yards of the walls.'[36]

Civil Government and tax-collecting in a country covered with fortresses of this sort, simply resolved itself into a military occupation. By means of infinite harrying we managed to collect rather more than half the land-tax, and in 1787 only left Rs. 116,775 in arrear, out of a total demand of Rs. 373,700. Piteous letters from the Ganjam Resident streamed into the Council Chamber at Madras for more and still more soldiers. But the troops themselves formed a source of danger. Valuable in enforcing the rents, they themselves mutinied with perfect freedom. One letter reports that the native grenadiers have shot down their

[34] *Ed.* The Governor in Council, Fort St. George, dated 5th October 1780. G. R.

[35] Proceedings, 16th May 1769, etc. G. R. [36] *Idem.*

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officers as they came on the parade ground after dinner, and very little more was said about the matter.[37] Every year furnished a list of landed proprietors who preferred fighting to paying; with bitter laments of 'the elopement' of country gentlemen of a weaker sort, who have 'fled to the western jungle,' and are 'inaccessible to pursuit.'[38] But the peasantry themselves, with a fort or a jungle always close at hand to which they could drive their cattle, proved the most incorrigible offenders. The Collector dismisses the most frightful atrocities, as mere matters of course in a few words. For example, in 1772 he hears that a certain tract is in confusion, 'the inhabitants having burned a great part of the country, and are determined to destroy it.'[39] But such *sangfroid* need not be wondered at, when the Madras Government had passed a solemn 'Resolution for extirpating all such as required force to compel them to make their payments',—a Resolution which the Ganjam Collector blandly regretted that he could not carry out, as the proprietors 'have ever been accustomed to pay with an army at their gates.'[40]

Nothing could be more characteristic of our national love of order than the persistent efforts which this little beleaguered Settlement of Englishmen made to maintain the appearance of a Civil Government. They held their Courts, heard causes, and gave criminals the benefit of a legal trial, with the whole country around them in revolt, and the Marhatta horse picked under their walls. We hear of murderers labouring 'in irons'[41] on the roads. The manifold entanglements amid which these merchants militant administered the civil law in a country in a chronic state of war, strike with amazement an Indian magistrate of the present day. False swearing seems to have been an essential part in every case. In a civil suit we hear of 'a falce (*sic*) note, and ten falce witnesses to sign it.' The Judicial Records exhibit leading questions of the most glaring sort from the Bench, with no cross-examination of the witnesses. One prisoner on trial for murder declared that his accuser had been 'suborned by a bribe of thirty-six hundredweight of unhusked rice; but let him prove it,' he exclaimed, with an air of injured innocence, 'by putting his hand in boiling oil.'[42] I do not know how far the surrounding atmosphere of corruption infected the 'gentlemen of the Factory;' but I certainly find the following item in the accounts: 'Paid a Brahman woman for swearing evidences by order of the Committee, £9, 10s.'[43]

[37] Proceedings, 4th October 1780. G. R.
[38] Proceedings, 13th February 1780, etc. G. R.
[39] Proceedings, 20th February 1772. G. R.
[40] Proceedings, 31st December 1769. G. R.
[41] Proceedings, March 1790. G. R.
[42] Proceedings, 25th January 1790. G. R.
[43] Account Book, under date 26th February 1789. G. R.

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But even this faint shadow of Civil Government became impossible in the climax of misrule, amid which the Marhatta supremacy in Orissa received its deathblow. Into the great series of events which then took place in Central India, and which led to the first conspicuous triumphs in the Duke of Wellington's career, I must not enter. The Treaty of Bassein had in 1802 crippled the Marhatta power. But only for a moment. The following year brought into the field against us a great native coalition, which the battles of Assaye, Argaon, and Delhi scarcely sufficed to break up. Of these disorders the Orissa Marhattas took advantage to burst out in a paroxysm of violence on our Districts. They trampled out every vestige of civil rule beneath their horses' hoofs, and the supreme hour of British Rule in that part of India seemed to have arrived. Our native troops made common cause with the marauders. In Ganjam, for example, the local battalion, or 'Revenue Corps,'[44] which we had organized for the purpose of collecting the land-tax, and which had hitherto, in a rough sort of manner, discharged this function, now broke out in open revolt. After infinite disturbances, they were disbanded in 1803, and the Collector plainly informed the Madras Government that he could not 'declare the Revenue certain without some regular troops.'[45]

One course alone remained. As long as the Marhattas held their position in the Mahanadi delta, and could sally forth on plundering expeditions secure of a retreat amid his network of rivers, our dominion in the Districts, alike to the north and to the south, hung by a hair. Accordingly, in 1803, Lord Wellesley resolved to root out once and for ever the Marhattas from Orissa. On two separate occasions[46] detachments of our troops had passed through that Province, and our generals possessed a detailed account of the route.[47] The Province had sunk into such absolute desolation under the Marhatta Rule, that except at the two capitals, Puri and Cuttack, there was 'not another place sufficient to furnish even a single battalion with provision.'[48] For forty miles not a single hamlet had been left, and our officers reported that everything, even to the firewood, would have to be brought from Ganjam. Accordingly, in July 1803 came the first of a long series of urgent letters to the Ganjam authorities, ordering them to collect wagons and bullocks, with their drivers, rice, sheep, and oxen, not forgetting four hundred

[44] The Sibandis. A corps bearing the same name still protects, or rather infests, the Portuguese Settlements in Western India.

[45] Proceedings of October, November, and December 1802; also of January and February 1803. G. R.

[46] In 1781 and 1790.

[47] From J. Greenwell, to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, etc., dated 30th November 1780. P. R.

[48] From J. Greenwell, to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, etc., dated 30th November 1780. P. R.

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litter-bearers for the wounded and sick. In a moment our emissaries covered the District, with money in their hands and spearmen to expedite their bargains. The peasantry, little accustomed to fair dealing from a warlike force, forthwith buried their rice stores, and hurried off their flocks to the jungle.[49] But ready money soon produced its invariable result. The Ganjam Collector had been authorized to spend £30,000, and within five weeks he got together the whole provisions required for a field force of 2400 Indians and 600 Europeans during sixty days.

On September 4, 1803, our troops marched out from Ganjam, and, keeping along the shore, halted for the night on the desolate sandbanks of Prayagi, the frontier village on the Orissa Coast. Next morning the little army crossed the boundary, with eight hundred bullock-carts of grain, and 145,000 Rupees in the military chest. As they marched up the narrow sandy strip which separates the Chilka from the sea, one chieftain after another came out to greet them. The Marhattas had made themselves hated by every class of the people ; the petty princes trembled for their lands ; the peasantry during two generations had lived in a chronic state of flight into the jungle ; and even the priests of Jagannath had learned to detest their Marhatta co-religionists for their endless extortions and rapine.[50] A couple of cannon and 300 men might have disputed for days the dangerous channel through which the Chilka poured through the narrow sandy strip into the sea. But instead of an opposing army, our general found only a deputation of venerable white-robed Brahmans, who begged that their temple, the religious key to the Province, might be placed 'under the protection of the British.'[51] The possession of the god had always given the dominion of Orissa, and on the 18th September our army encamped within the shadow of his walls. The four hundred litter-bearers for the wounded gaily stepped along with quite empty palanquins.

But what were the Marhatta Governors about during these precious fourteen days ? Though with no hope of help from an outraged people, they might at least have struck a blow for themselves. Yet day after day our troops advanced up the narrow strip and across the boiling outlet of the Chilka, seeing nothing of the enemy except a distant whirlwind of dust, and light-armed horsemen hovering far in the front. At Puri these outlying clouds consolidated into a Marhatta camp firmly posted on the other side of the river which flows past that city. They could have

[49] Letter to Collector of Vizagapatam, dated 17th August 1803. G. R.
[50] Commissioner's Letter, dated 11th March 1805, etc. O. R. *Vide ante,* Chapter I. p. 30-31.
[51] Commissioner's Letter to Board of Revenue on the affairs of Jagannath, dated 26th August 1843. O. R. Also, Marquis of Wellesley's Despatches.

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chosen no better post for making a great defence. During the summer the stream dwindled into a chain of marshes and lakes, with intervals of dry land between. But in the rainy season, towards the end of which our invasion took place, it came down in uncontrollable freshets, with huge floods and backwaters, in some places too shallow for boats, in others too deep to ford. The pacific proclamations by which Lord Wellesley had assured all classes of the Indians in their rights, could have but small effect with the dark masses of foreign Marhatta horse, drawn up on the other side of these treacherous waters. They opened a sharp fire on our troops, and the time for using the four hundred litter-bearers seemed to have arrived. But half a century of licence and misrule had left to the Marhattas little trace of that unflinching courage which a generation before had decided the fate of a hundred battles. Their cavalry broke and fled before a few whiffs of English grape-shot. We crossed the river, driving them out of the wood in which they had entrenched themselves. For fifty miles we pushed the enemy inland from jungle to jungle, till their horses, panic-stricken by constant retreats, learned to fall back as a matter of course as soon as the grape began to fly about their legs, and tear up the ground on which they stood. On the 2nd October we had hastened their movements by a night attack on their camp, while they were leisurely eating their dinner. As a rule, we husbanded our troops, and instead of charging the enemy with men, beat them back across the swamps from a convenient distance with artillery. But we had to wait for our baggage and guns, and another week passed before we reached Cuttack City, which we entered unopposed—'the gates open, and all the inhabitants' houses empty.'[52] Six days sufficed to build our batteries and extend our approaches to the Fort. This stronghold, firmly fixed between two branches of the Mahanadi, formed the one difficult fortification in Orissa. Faced with stones, defended by eight small towers, surrounded by a high rampart and a deep moat, '20 to 30 paces broad,' and in some places by a double ditch, its single weak point was the number of hollows in the neighbouring fields, which afforded good cover for the besiegers.[53] At 10 A.M. on the 14th October, an English officer blew open one of the small gates, receiving a wound the same moment in the neck, and a storming party dashed

[52] October 8. The British army entered the city by Lalbagh, still the site of the Collectorate offices, and the Commissioner's residence and deer park. Hunter takes this account from a private letter by one of the soldiers who was with the British troops—Sergeant Christopher Samuel Plummer. He thanks Buckley, the venerable head of the Cuttack Mission, for this and several other curious documents. The good Sergeant afterwards became a very zealous member of the Dissenting body at Norwich. Hunter has checked and corrected his dates from official documents in the Commissioner's office, Cuttack.

[53] Mackenzie MSS., folio xv.

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into the heart of the fortifications. A few moments ended the struggle. The Colonel of the attacking party fell with a wound in his leg; two or three soldiers were killed; the Marhatta's leaped the ramparts and streamed out of the other gates; about thirty of their dead bodies 'were carried out in bullock cars to the river, where they were eaten by wild beasts and birds;' and the great Province of Orissa, with its 23,907 square miles and three million souls, passed under British Rule.

On the same day, the General, with a member of the Civil Service, formed themselves into peaceful 'Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack,' and despatched James Hunter to take possession of Puri, and to administer it as if it had been an old settled British District.[54] Once, and once only, the foreign Marhatta soldiery ventured to turn to bay. A desperate struggle with ten thousand of them took place at Pippli, half-way between Cuttack and Puri, in which there was 'scarcely an officer but what was wounded.[55] But the four hundred litters for the sick seem never to have come seriously into play; and so far as my materials show, we won this Province, nearly equal in size to Scotland, and twenty times more fertile than it, at an outlay of £30,000 sterling, and about fifty men.

Yet let no man therefore despise the achievement. Our whole history in India is a narative of audacious victories, won with a small loss against overwhelming odds. Plassey, which gave us Bengal, with its forty millions of souls, and potential supremacy throughout the whole Indian Empire, cost us seventy-two European soldiers. 'The siege of the Bastille,' says Carlyle, 'weighed with which in the historical balance most other sieges, including that of Troy Town, are gossamer, cost, as we find, in killed and mortally wounded on the part of the besiegers, some eighty-three persons; on the part of the besieged, one poor solitary invalid, shot stone dead on the battlements.'[56] If we won the great Province of Orissa with little loss to ourselves, it is because we deserved to do so. Had our troops started a month earlier or a month later, the four hundred litter-bearers for the sick would have had much heavier work. A few weeks before, the state of the floods would have rendered the country impassable by our artillery, and the malaria would have killed off our men like an infected flock of sheep. A few weeks later, the dry, flat rice-fields would have afforded exactly the sort of fighting ground which the Marhatta cavalry loved. Their horse would have devoured our little body of infantry, trampling in upon it from every point of the compass; harassing it on the march, at its meals, by night and by day, during every minute

[54] Commissioner's Letter, dated 26th October 1843, etc.

[55] Sergeant Plummer's MS. Narrative.

[56] French Revolution, i. 164.

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of the twenty-four hours. We chose exactly the time which a Collector of an Orissa District, after years of acquaintance with the country, would now recommend for the advance of a column of infantry against masses of cavalry. Our free-handed outlay of money for provisions and carriage—our carefully collected information as to the route—our pacific Proclamations to the people—our politic benevolence to Jagganath and his priests—above all, our ceaseless movement forward in the face of the Marhatta soldiery, who were as much foreigners as ourselves, and more hateful to the natives,—in short, every incident of the campaign, merited success and obtained it.

But with the end of the conquest our real troubles began. We had got the land, but we could find no proprietors to engage for its rental, and no peasantry to till its soil. In vain we issued soothing Proclamations; the people had been so long accustomed to despair, that they did not dare to hope. Practically, during the first year any one might till the land who pleased, and our final Proclamation had to elaborately provide for the non-appearance of the proprietors, and for the desertion of many hundreds of villages.[57] The truth is, that at the time we took the Province, land had ceased to have any value in Orissa, further than the worth of the crop which might at the moment be actually standing on it. But a just and settled Government in an Indian Province raises the price of nothing so quickly as of land. No sooner did the proprietors find that they could make a visible appearance without being imprisoned and plundered, than claimants sprung up as if by magic from the ground; and the difficulty became not to find landholders to engage for the rental, but to decide which among them had the right to receive the engagement. Fortunately, also, we caught the late Chief Revenue Officer of the Marhattas red-handed in enticing the English soldiers to desert and betray our counsels. Him we hanged forthwith, and thereby created a sense of general security among all those who had owed anything to our predecessors.[58]

The permanent difficulty was not to get the proprietors to settle for the rent, but to find a peasantry to till the land. In the last chapter I have passed briefly over the half century of misery from which in 1803 the Province emerged. But I find that I must dwell for a moment on one of its most revolting details, in order that the reader may rightly understand the difficulties which beset our first attempts at Government in Orissa. In India, and indeed throughout Asia, slavery forms the last refuge of an utterly crushed and despairing people. To the honour of the Hindus be it spoken, that anything like the bar-

[57] Commissioner's Circular, 13th September 1804, with instructions to Collectors of 15th *idem.* C. R.

[58] Sergeant Plummer's MS. Narrative.

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barities of our Western Plantations has never been known in Hindusthan. The slave in the East may be oppressed, but a Hindu master never beats him; the jungle yields an unfailing refuge to the miserable, and as long as he remains in service he is sure of his daily bread. In another volume, indeed, I have pointed out how such serfdom may merely represent the last resource of labour, when placed by over-population completely at the mercy of capital.[59] In Orissa it formed the sole refuge of a people who despaired of earning a subsistence for themselves. During famines, mothers had been accustomed to sell their children for a few pence, and every great household in Bengal, English as well as Native, had domestics of this class.[60] In Malabar alone they numbered 16,574 in 1800, and to this day each of the chief Orissa castes has nominally certain servile families attached to it.[61] Local tradition derives them from the intercourse of castes between whom no *jus connubii* exists, and from the old practice of the father-in-law presenting to the bridegroom a bevy of young handmaids along with the bride. Each caste has thus its own illegitimate or servile branch, except indeed the Brahmans, who are otherwise supplied.

This ancient and not unkindly form of serfdom existed from time immemorial in Orissa. But the miseries of Marhatta misrule developed a new and altogether different phase of slavery. The peasantry, in despair of wringing their daily bread from the soil, either sold themselves across the seas, or were driven to the coast like dumb creatures, and shipped on board by their marauding Governors. The Ganjam Records disclose miserable gangs of them who had been landed for sale in Southern India, and rescued by the compassion of English officials. While nothing seemed more natural to the Indian mind than the practice of very poor people accepting domestic servitude for life in their native place, nothing could be more revolting to it than a sea-going trade in human flesh. One of our officers[62] has declared transportation across the sea 'to be as much dreaded in Orissa as death.' The Puri Roadstead was the principal place of their exportation, and many a frail craft with its shrieking

[59] *Annals of Rural Bengal*, vol. i. p. 234, 4th ed.

[60] Hunter has several hundred notices as to the status of slaves in India during the last century. In 1761 the Select Committee of the Court of Directors 'particularly recommended' the Madras Government 'to procure as many slaves from the French Islands as possible.' Sel. Committee's Proceedings, Dec. 28, 1761. See also Nos. 219, 424, 616 and 732 of Long's Unpublished Records, Calc. 1869. Also, Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of 17th June and 2nd Dec. 1784, 1st Dec. 1785, 10th July 1786, 12th June 1788, etc. etc. Also Buchanan's *Mysore, Kanara, and Malabar*, i. 13, ii. 61, 67, 74, 92, 117, 146, 150-153, 174, 271, 275, 299, 397.

[61] Called Shagird-peshas, 'life-long learners,' or ghulams, 'slaves.'

[62] Macpherson's Report on the Kandhs, Part vii. para. 87.

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freight was driven on shore on the Madras Coast.[63] Wretched footsore parties, rescued in Southern India by our officers, were passed northwards from one British Factory to another till they arrived at the Orissa Frontier, leaving a residue of sick and dying in the English hospitals *en route*.[64] At length the evil reached such a height, that the Madras Government had to level a thunderbolt in the shape of a Proclamation[65] against 'a practice so detrimental to the country, and injurious to the rights of humanity.' It further offered a reward of twenty pagodas for the liberation of each person discivered in this state of servitude. But neither this nor a similar Proclamation issued the year before by the Governor-General in Calcutta, and which offered a reward of £5 for each person delivered from slavery, could stop the 'inhuman and detestable traffic!'[66] In 1794 the slave-trade from Bengal had reached as far as St Helena, and the Court of Directors found itself forced to take up the question.[67] Proclamations, rewards, and penalties remained alike ineffectual so long as the Marhattas held the sea-coast of Orissa. From the day we entered the Province this abomination also ceased. The memory of it has utterly passed away; and but for the original papers which I here cite in support of my statements, its existence at any time would now be denied.

The Province of Orissa which then passed under care of the British consisted geographically and politically of two distinct tracts. The rich Delta spread out its swamps and rich fields from the mountains to the sea; the hill country stretched backwards into Central India. A separate series of difficulties beset our Administration in each, and at this day they are governed on a totally distinct plan...

[63] *E.d.* Letter from the Clerk to the Committee of Police at Masulipatnam. G. R.

[64] Consultation of 5th July 1790. G. R.

[65] Dated Fort St. George, 8th March 1790.

[66] Dated 27th July 1789.

[67] Proclamation in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 11th September 1794. Sel. ii. Calcutta 1865.

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APPENDIX I

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ORISSA,

FROM 3101 B.C. TO 1871 A.D.

BASED ON THE PALM-LEAF RECORDS OF JAGANNATH, as digested in the *Purushottama Chandrika* by Babu Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyaya, collated with Stirling's Essay in the *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. xv. (Ed. 1825), and his posthumous Paper in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,* vol. vi. part ii. 1837.

B.C.

3101-3089. YUDHISHTHIR, a monarch of the Mahabharata, of the Lunar Race of Delhi. Reigned 12 years. [According to Stirling (*Asiatic Researches,* vol. xv.), 3095-3083 B.C.]

3089-2358. PARIKSHIT, a monarch of the Mahabharata, of the Lunar Race of Delhi. Reigned 731 years. [According to Stirling, 3083-2326 B.C.]

2358-1807. JANMEJAYA, a monarch of the Mahabharata, and the patron of that work; sprung from the Lunar Race of Delhi. Reigned 551 years. [According to Stirling, 2326-1810 B.C.]

1807-1407. SANKAR DEVA. Reigned 400 years. [According to Stirling, 1810-1400.]

1407-1037. GAUTAM DEVA. Extended the Kingdom of Orissa to the Godavari River. Reigned 370 years. [According to Stirling, 1400-1027 B.C.]

1037-822. MAHENDRA DEVA. Founded the town of Rajmahendri as his capital. Reigned 215 years. [According to Stirling, 1027-812 B.C.]

822-688. ISHTA DEVA. Reigned 134 years. [According to Stirling, 812-678 B.C.]

688-538. SEVAK DEVA. Reigned 150 years. [According to Stirling, 678-528 B.C.]

538-421. BAJRA DEVA. In this reign Orissa was invaded by Yavanas from Marwar, from Delhi, and from Babul Des—the last supposed to be Iran (Persia) and Cabul. According to the Palm-Leaf Chronicle, the invaders were repulsed. Reigned 117 years. [According to Stirling, 528-421 B.C.]

421-306. NARSINH DEVA. Reigned 115 years. Another chief from the far north invaded the country during this reign, but he was defeated, and the Orissa prince reduced a great part of the Delhi kingdom. The

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B.C.

monarch excavated the tank at Dantan near Jaleswar, which exists at this day. [According to Stirling, this prince was called Sarasankha, and reigned 421-306 B.C.]

306-184. MANKRISHNA DEVA. Reigned 122 years. Yavanas from Kashmir invaded the country, but were driven back after many battles. [According to Stirling, this king was called Hansa, and reigned 306-184 B.C.]

184-57. BHOJ DEVA. A great prince, who drove back a Yavana invasion, and is said to have subdued all India. Reigned 127 years. [Stirling's date here coincides with that of the Palm-Leaf Record; and when this is the case, I do not give his figures.]

A.D.

57 B.C. to 78 A.D. Two reigns, that of VIKRAMADITYA and his brother SAKADITYA. Neither the Purushottama Chandrika nor Stirling gives separate dates for these reigns, but the two extended over 135 years Vikramaditya made himelf master of all India, but was slain by a rebel conqueror from Southern India, named Salivahan, identified as his brother Sakaditya, who succeeded him. The current or Sakabda era dates from the end of this reign, 77-78 A.D. During the above fourteen reigns, 3179 (or, according to Stirling, 3173) years of the Kali Yug elapsed.

78-143. KARMARJIT DEVA; reigned 65 years.

143-194. HATKESWAR DEVA; reigned 51 years.

194-237. BIR BHUVAN DEVA; reigned 43 years. [According to Stirling, the name of this prince was Tribhuvan.]

237-282. NIRMAL DEVA; reigned 45 years.

282-319. BHIM DEVA; reigned 37 years.

319-323. SOBHAN DEVA. During this reign of 4 years, the maritime invasion and conquest of Orissa by the Yavanas under Red-Arm (Rakta Bahu) took place. The king fled with the sacred image of Jagannath, and with those of his brother and sister, Balbhadra and Subhadra, and buried them in a cave at Sonpur. The story of Rakta Bahu's waging war with the ocean, which overwhelmed his forces and formed the Chilka Lake, will be found in chapter ii. of Hunter's Orissa. (Original Edition). The lawful prince perished in the jungle, and the Yavanas ruled in his stead. [According to Stirling, the reign commenced 318 A.D.]

323-328. CHANDRA DEVA, who, however, was only a nominal king, as the Yavanas were completely masters of the country. They put him to death in A.D. 328. [Stirling calls this prince Indra Deva.]

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A.D.

328-474. Yavana occupation of Orissa, 146 years. [According to Stirling, these Yavanas were Buddhists.]

474-526. YAYATI KESARI, who expelled the Yavanas and founded the Kesari or Lion Dynasty. Reigned 52 years. This prince brought back the image of Jagannath to Puri, and commenced the Temple City to Siva at Bhuvaneswar. His capital was at Jajpur. [According to Stirling, he reigned from 473 to 520 A.D.]

526-583. SURJYA KESARI; reigned 57 years.

583-623. ANANTA KESARI; reigned 40 years. [According to Stirling, this and the previous reign extended from 520 to 617 A.D.]

623-677. ALABU KESARI, who completed the Temple of Bhuvaneswar, reigned 54 years. [According to Stirling, he was called Lalat Indra Kesari, and began to reign 617 A.D.]

With the exception of five kings, Stirling does not give the names of the other monarchs of the Kesari Dynasty from Lalat Indra Kesari to the extinction of the line. He merely says that 32 uninteresting reigns followed, extending over a period of 455 years. The Palm-Leaf Records, however, give the names of 40 princes. Only three of the five kings referred to by Stirling can be identified in the list.

677-693. KANAK KESARI; reigned 16 years.

693-701. BIR KESARI; reigned 8 years

701-706. PADMA KESARI; reigned 5 years.

706-715. BRIDDHA KESARI; reigned 9 years.

715-726. BATA KESARI; reigned 11 years.

726-738. GAJA KESARI; reigned 12 years.

738-740. BASANTA KESARI; reigned 2 years.

740-754. GANDHARVA KESARI; reigned 14 years.

754-763. JANMEJAYA KESARI; reigned 9 years.

763-778. BHARAT KESARI; reigned 15 years.

778-792. KALI KESARI; reigned 14 years.

792-811. KAMAL KESARI; reigned 19 years.

811-829. KUNDAL KESARI; reigned 18 years; built the Temple of Markandeswar in Puri.

829-846. CHANDRA KESARI; reigned 17 years.

846-865. BIR CHANDRA KESARI; reigned 19 years.

865-875. AMRITA KESARI; reigned 10 years.

875-890. BIJAYA KESARI; reigned 15 years.

890-904. CHANDRAPAL KESARI; reigned 14 years.

904-920. MADHUSUDAN KESARI; reigned 16 years.

920-930. DHARMA KESARI; reigned 10 years.

930-941. JANA KESARI; reiged 11 years.

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A.D.

941-953. NRIPA KESARI. A warlike and ambitious prince. who founded the city of Cuttack. Reigned 12 years. [Stirling dates the foundation of Cuttack by this prince in 989 A.D.]

953-961. MAKAR KESARI. Constructed a long and massive stone revetment to protect the city of Cuttack from inundation. Reigned 8 years. [Stirling calls this prince Markat Kesari, and places the construction of this work in 1006 A.D.]

961-971. TRIPURA KESARI; reigned 10 years.

971-989. MADHAV KESARI; (according to Stirling) built the fortress of Sarangarh on the south bank of the Katjuri River, opposite the city of Cuttack; reigned 18 years.

989-999. GOBINDA KESARI; reigned 10 years.

999-1013. NRITYA KESARI; reigned 15 years.

1013-1024. NARSINH KESARI; reigned 11 years.

1024-1034. KURMA KESARI; reigned 10 years.

1034-1050. MATSYA KESARI; built the great bridge across the Atharanala, at the entrance to Puri, existing to this day; reigned 16 years.

1050-1065. BARAHA KESARI; reigned 15 years.

1065-1078. BAMAN KESARI; reigned 13 years.

1078-1080. PARASU KESARI; reigned 2 years.

1080-1092. CHANDRI KESARI; reigned 12 years.

1092-1099. SUJAN KESARI; reigned 7 years.

1099-1104. SALINI KESARI; reigned 5 years. His queen built the Nat Mandir or Dancing Hall of the Temple of Bhuvaneswar.

1104-1107. PURANJAN KESARI; reigned 3 years.

1107-1119. VISHNU KESARI; reigned 12 years.

1119-1123. INDRA KESARI; reigned 4 years.

1123-1132. SUVARNA KESARI; reigned 9 years. The Kesari Dynasty ended with this prince, who died childless, and was succeeded by Chorganga, a king from the south. Another Palm-Leaf Record containing a list of the Kings of Orissa, and kept by a Brahman family of Puri, gives a different account of the extinction of the line. It states that Basudeva Bahanpati, a powerful officer of the Orissa Court, having been driven from the royal presence, went to the Carnatic, and instigated Chorganga of that country to invade Orissa, which he did, conquering Cuttack, and establishing a new dynasty. [According to Stirling, 36 princes of the Kesari line ruled over Orissa 473-1131 A.D., of whom, however, he only gives the names of nine. One of these, Barujya Kesari, is said to have

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A.D. quadrupled the land-tax, and another, Surjya Kesari, to have reduced it to the old rate.]

1132-1152. CHORGANGA, the founder of the Gangavansa Dynasty; reigned 20 years. His memory is preserved by the name of a quarter in Puri city, called the Churang Sai, and also by a tank in that town bearing the same name. [Stirling places this reign 1131-1151 A.D.]

1152-1166. GANGESWAR.—His territories are said to have extended from the Ganges to the Godavari, and to have included five royal cities, Jajpur, Chaudwar, Amravati, Chatna, and Biranasi, or Cuttack. As a penance for a crime, he excavated a splendid tank called Kausalya Ganga, between Pippli and Khurdha. [According to Stirling, he ascended the throne 1151 A.D.]

1166-1171. EKJATAKAM DEVA; reigned 5 years.

1171-1175. MADAN MAHADEVA; reigned 4 years.

1175-1202. ANANG BHIM DEO, one of the greatest of the Orissa kings. He made a survey of his whole kingdom, measuring it with reeds; and built the present Temple of Jagannath. Reigned 27 years. [According to Stirling, he ascended the throne in 1174 A.D.]

1202-1237. RAJRAJESWAR DEVA; reigned 35 years. [Sterling places his death in 1236 A.D.]

1237-1282. LANGULIYA NARSINH; reigned 45 years; built the great Sun Temple at Kanarak on the Sea (the Black Pagoda).

1282-1307. KESARI NARSINH; reigned 25 years. This prince filled up the bed of the river Balagandi, which ran between the temple and the country house of Jagannath, and which obstructed the cars that carried the idols at the great festival. Previously a double set of cars had been required for the conveyance of the images. [According to Stirling, this prince was called Kabir Narsinh, and erected the bridge across the Atharanala at the entrance to Puri; the bridge which the Temple Records ascribe to Matsya Kesari, who reigned 1034-1050.]

1307-1327. PRATAP NARSINH; reigned 20 years.

1327-1329. GATIKANTA NARSINH; reigned 2 years.

1329-1330. KAPIL NARSINH; reigned 1 year.

1330-1337. SANKHA BHASUR; reigned 7 years.

1337-1361. SANKHA BASUDEVA*; reigned 24 years.

1361-1382. BALI BASUDEVA; reigned 22 years.

1382-1401. BIR BASUDEVA; reigned 19 years.

1401-1414. KALI BASUDEVA; reigned 13 years.

*Basudeva should be read as Bhanudeva.

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A.D.

1414-1429. NENGATANTA BASUDEVA; reigned 15 years.

1429-1452. NETRA BASUDEVA; reigned 23 years.

1452-1479. KAPILENDRA DEVA, originally a common herd-boy, tending the flocks of his Brahman master, but afterwards raised to the throne. Reigned 27 years.

1479-1504. PURUSHUTTAMA DEVA.—The King of Conjevaram refused to marry his daughter to this prince, on the ground of the Orissa Dynasty holding the office of Sweeper to Jagannath. Purushottama accordingly invaded the southern country, defeated the Conjevaram king, and carried off his daughter, whom he swore should be married to a sweeper, in revenge for her father's refusal. The minister to whom he entrusted the execution of his order, brought forth the princess at the next great festival of Jagannath, as the king himself was publicly performing his lowly office before the god, and presented her in marriage to his master.

1504-1532. PRATAP RUDRA DEVA; reigned 28 years. A learned man, deeply versed in the Sastras. His reign was disturbed by theological discussions as to the merits of the Buddhistic and Brahmanical religions. Stories are told of how sometimes one, sometimes the other, of these religions obtained supremacy over the mind of the prince, and how the followers of each were persecuted by turns. The great Vishnuvite reformer Chaitanya visited Puri during this reign, and finally converted the king to the Vaidik faith. The Temple of Baraha at Jajpur was constructed by this king; and the Annalists state that he extended his conquests as far as Cape Comorin, capturing the city of Vizianagaram *en route*. The Afghans, however, made incursions into Orissa and plundered Puri, the idols being removed and secreted beforehand. [According to Stirling, he reigned 1503-1524 A.D.]

1532-1533. KALUYA DEVA, son of the last-mentioned king. Reigned 1 year, when he was murdered by Gobind Bidyadhar, the Prime Minister. [According to Stirling, 1524-1529.]

1533-1534. KATHARUYA DEVA, THE LAST UF THE GANGAVANSA LINE, brother of the previous king, like him assassinated by Gobind Bidyadhar, who now ascended the throne, after murdering all of the royal blood.

1534-1541. GOBIND BIDYADHAR; reigned 7 years. Disputes with the Muhammadans as to the possession of Rajmahendri. [According to Stirling, he began to reign 1533 A.D.]

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A.D.

1541-1549. CHAKRA PRATAP; reigned 8 years.

1549-1550. NARSINH JENA; reigned 1 year.

1550-1551. RAGHU RAM CHHOTRA; reigned 1 year.

1551-1559. MUKUND DEVA, or Telinga Mukund Deva; reigned 8 years. The last of the independent kings of Orissa, and a man of great courage and ability. He constructed a large landing-place (ghat) on the Hugli at Tribeni, near the town of Hugli. During his reign, Kalapahar, the general of the Muhammadan King of Bengal, invaded the province with a large force. The Orissa king was defeated and slain in a battle outside the walls of the capital, Jajpur, and the monarchy overthrown, A.D. 1559. [According to Stirling, 1555 A.D.] Kala Pahar plundered the holy city of Puri. The Muhammadan writers place the conquest of Orissa in 1567-68, and after a careful comparison of authorities, Hunter adopted this last date.

1559-1578, or 1568-1578. An anarchy of 19 years, after which Ram Chandra Deva, the son of the Prime Minister of the previous reign, was elected to throne. During the anarchy the Afghan governor of Orissa, Daud Khan, invaded Bengal, but was defeated by the Mughuls under Munim Khan, and the province was annexed to the Mughul Empire. [According to Stirling, the anarchy lasted 1558-1579 A.D.]

1578-1607. RAM CHANDRA DEVA. the first prince of the present family of Khurdha; reigned 29 years. Raja Todar Mall, Akbar's general, and afterwards Prime Minister, was deputed to restore order in Orissa. He confirmed the native prince on the throne, but towards the end of this reign the province was disturbed by a rival claimant, who appealed to the Emperor Akbar. Raja Man Sinh, another Hindu general of the Moghul Empire, was sent to adjust the quarrel, which he managed amicably by bestowing on the claimant the Fort of Al and its dependencies. [According to Stirling, the reign lasted 1580-1609 A.D.]

1607-1628. PURUSHUTTAMA DEVA; reigned 21 years; was slain in battle. From this period the Orissa kings were merely Rajas of Khurdha.

1628-1653. NARSINH DEVA; reigned 25 years. Invasion of Orissa by a Muhammadan general from the south, named Shahbaz. The king finding himself unable to resist the invaders, was compelled to purchase peace by the payment of a large sum of money. This prince brought the images of the sun and moon from

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the Temple of Kanarak to Puri. [According to Stirling, he reigned 1630-1655 A.D.]

1653-1654. GANGADHAR DEVA; reigned 1 year. [According to Stirling, 1655-1656 A.D.]

1654-1662. BALABHADRA DEVA; reigned 8 years. [According to Stirling, 1656-1664 A.D.]

1662-1690. MUKUND DEVA; reigned 28 years. [According to Stirling, 1664-1692 A.D.]

1690-1713. DIBYA SINH DEVA; reigned 23 years. [According to Stirling, 1692-1715 A.D.]

1713-1718. KRISHNA DEVA; reigned 5 years. [According to Stirling, 1715-1720 A.D.]

1718-1725. GOPINATH DEVA; reigned 7 years. [According to Stirling, 1720-1727 A.D.]

1725-1736. RAM CHANDRA DEVA; reigned 11 years. [According to Stirling, 1727-1743 A.D.]

1736-1773. BIR KISOR DEVA; reigned 37 years. Habib Khan, a Muhammadan officer of the Marhatta army, invaded and wrested the province from this king, but afterwards restored it. In 1753 the Marhattas finally took possession of the province. [Stirling places this reign 1743-1786 A.D.]

1773-1791. DIBYA SINH DEVA; reigned 18 years. [According to Stirling, 1786-1798 A.D.]

1791-1810. MUKUND DEVA; ruled 19 years. Occupation of Orissa by the British and expulsion of the Mārhattas in 1803. In the following year this prince headed a rising of the Khurdha people, but was defeated and taken prisoner. After being kept in confinement for some time in Cattack and Midnapur, he was allowed to retire to Puri.

1810-1857. RAM CHANDRA DEVA; ruled 47 years.

1857-1871. DIBYA SINH DEVA. He is the fifteenth of the line of princes who succeeded in 1575 to the Orissa-kingdom, as a fief of the Mughul Empire, after the anarchy which followed the extinction of the Gangavansa dynasty. The above Chronicle, taken from Hindu sources, does not fully represent the facts of Orissa history after the Musalman conquest in 1568.—W.W.H.

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APPENDIX II

THE MUHAMMADAN HISTORY OF ORISSA,

FROM 1510 TO 1751,

As told by the Persian Annalists

THE following Abstract has been compiled from the Akbar-namah, Ain-i-Akbari, Makhzan-i-Afghani, Badaoni, and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. For the early connection of the Muhammadans with Orissa between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, see chapter V of the present work. Hunter is indebted to Blochmann's MSS. for the materials from which the following events are taken:

A.D. 1510 (?)—Muhammadan invasion of Orissa by Isma'il Ghazi, General of Husain Shah, King of Bengal.

A.D. 1520 (?)—Battle near Kandapalli (Condapally), and conquest of Telingana by Sultan Kuli Kutb Shah, the monarch of the Southern Muhammadan Kingdom.

A.D. 1567-68 (A.H. 975).—Afghan conquest of Orissa by Sulaiman Kararani, King of Bengal and Behar. The last independent native king of the Province, Raja Mukund Deo, was slain in the battle fought outside the walls of his capital, Jajpur. Siege and capture of the city and temple of Puri by Kala Pahar.

A.D. 1571 (A.H. 979).—Conquest of Rajmahendri by Malik Naib, general of Ibrahim Kutb Shah, King of Golconda. (A.D. 1550 to 1581.)

A.D. 1572 (A.H. 980).—Death of Sulaiman, who is succeeded by his son Bayazid as King of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Bayazid murdered by Hansu, his brother-in-law. Daud Khan, second son of Sulaiman, succeeds. Khan Jahan Afghan, appointed Governor of Orissa, and Kutlu Khan Lohani, Governor of Puri.

A.D. 1574 (A.H. 982).—Behar conquered by the Emperor Akbar, and flight of the rebel King of Bengal, Daud Khan, to Orissa. First invasion of Orissa by the Mughuls under Munim Khan and Akbar's Hindu general, Raja Todar Mall.

A.D. 1574, 25th March (A.H. 20th Zikad'a 982).—Great battle of Tukaroi or Mughulmari, near Jaleswar, between the Mughuls under Munim and Raja Todar Mall, and the Afghans under Daud, in which the latter were completely defeated. After the battle, Munim advanced upon Cattack, where a peace was concluded, Daud ceding Bengal and Behar to the Mughuls, in

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return for which he was acknowledged as King of Orissa by the Emperor Akbar.

A.D. 1575 (A.H. 983).—Afghan invasion and occupation of Bengal by Daud Khan, from Orissa, on the death of Munim Khan, Akbar's Governor of Bengal and Behar. Husain Kuli Khan Jahan appointed Governor of Bengal and Behar by the Emperor, in succession to Munim Khan.

A.D. 1576, 12th July (A.H. 15th, Rabi-ul-Sani 984.—Battle of Agmahall (Rajmahal), in which the Afghan insurgents were completely defeated, and their leader, Daud Khan, slain by the Imperial troops under Husain Kuli Khan Jahan, the new Governor of Bengal.

A.D. 1576 (A.H. 984).—The Afghans again defeated near Hugli, and retreat into Orissa. Nominal annexation of the Province to the Delhi Empire.

A.D. 1578 (A.H. 986).—Death of Husain Kuli Khan Jahan, Governor of Bengal; succeeded by Muzaffar Khan.

A.D. 1579 (A.H. 987).—Masum Khan Kabuli, appointed Governor of Orissa by Akbar.

A.D. 1580 (A.H. 988).—Rebellion in Orissa and Bengal, under the leadership of Masum Khan, the newly-appointed Governor of Orissa. Muzaffar Khan, Governor of Bengal, killed by the rebels. Orissa cleared of Mughul Imperialists. The rebels, assisted by the Afghans of Orissa and Ghoraghat, occupy Behar. Usurpation of the throne of Orissa by Kutlu Khan, a Lohani Afghan. Battle of Salimabad, south of Bardwan, in which Kutlu Khan defeats Mirza Najat, Akbar's Governor of Satgaon, and extended his power as far as the Damodar. Mirza 'Aziz Kokah Khan i A'zam appointed Governor of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa, by the Emperor Akbar.

A.D. 1581 (A.H. 989).—Kutlu defeats and kills Kiya Khan Gang, in Orissa.

A.D. 1582 (A.H. 990).—Behar and Western Bengal recaptured by Mirza 'Aziz, Akbar's Governor. His officers are unsuccessful in their operations against Kutlu Khan of Orissa.

A.D. 1583 (A.H. 991).—Battle on the Damodar river, south of Bardwan, near Mughalmari, in which Kutlu Khan was defeated by Sadik Khan and Shah Kuli Mahram. Death of Kala Pahar, the conqueror of Puri.

A.D. 1584 (A.H. 992).—Peace concluded between Akbar's officers and Kutlu Khan, the latter being allowed to retain Orissa. Akbar disapproves of the treaty made by his generals with Kutlu.

A.D. 1590 (A.H. 998).—Raja Man Sinh appointed Governor of Bengal and Behar. He invades Orissa, staying at Madaran, south-west of Bardwan, during the rains. Kutlu Khan defeats the Imperial troops, captures Jagat Sinh, son of Raja Man Sinh, at the battle of Dharpur, and occupies Bishenpur. Death of

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Kutlu Khan. His minister 'Isa concludes a peace with Raja Man Sinh, and releases Jagat Sinh. Puri ceded to Akbar. (A.H. 998 to 1000). 'Isa's administration of Orissa.

A.D. 1592 (A.H. 1000).—'Isa dies. The two sons of Kutlu Khan, Khwajah Sulaiman and Khwajah 'Usman, seize Puri, and break the treaty. Raja Man Sinh invades Orissa a second time. Great battle at Banapur, in which the Afghan Orissa rebels were completely defeated by Man Sinh. Capture of Jaleswar, Cuttack, and Fort Al by the Imperial troops. The Afghans make a last but ineffectual stand at Fort Sarangarh, then submit, the two sons of Kutlu Khan becoming vassals of the Delhi Empire. Orissa finally annexed to Akbar's Empire. Raja Man Sinh appointed Governor of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa. Raja Ram Chandra Deo, the native king of Orissa, and three of his family, made grandees of the Delhi Court.

A.D. 1598 (A.H. 1007).—Jagat Sinh officiating Governor during the temporary absence of his father Raja Man Sinh. Revolt of the Orissa Afghans under 'Usman. Defeat of the Imperial troops under Maha Sinh, a younger son of Raja Man Sinh, by the Afghans under 'Usman, near Bhadrak. Occupation of Orissa and south-western portion of Bengal by the Afghan rebels.

A.D. 1599 (A.H. 1008).—Return of Raja Man Sinh; he defeats 'Usman near Sherpur 'Atai, north of Bardwan, and pursues him to Mohespur, near Bishenpur. Southern Orissa retained by the Afghans.

A.D. 1605 (A.H. 1014).—Death of Akbar, and accession of Jahangir. Man Sinh reappointed as Governor of Bengal and Orissa.

A.D. 1606 (A.H. 1015).—Man Sinh recalled, and Kutb-ud-din, Jahangir's foster brother, appointed Governor of Bengal and Orissa.

A.D. 1607 (A.H. 1016).—Kutb-ud-din, killed at Bardwan by Sher Khan, husband of Nur Jahan: Jahangir Kuli Khan, Governor of Behar, appointed to act as Governor of Bengal and Orissa.

A.D. 1607 (A.H. 1016).—Orissa created a separate Governorship; Hashim Khan appointed Governor.

A.D. 1611 (A.H. 1020).—Raja Kalyan Mall appointed Governor of Orissa, vice Hashim Khan, transferred to Kashmir. The Afghans under Usman make a last effort to regain their independence, but are defeated, and their leader killed by Shujaat Khan near the Subarnarekha river. All Orissa, with the exception of Khurdha and Rajmahendri, finally annexed to Delhi. Mukarram Khan appointed Governor of Orissa.

A.D. 1618 (A.H. 1027).—Mukarram Khan defeats the Raja of Khurdha, and annexes his territory to the Delhi Empire. Rajmahendri is acknowledged to be independent.

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This defeat ended the struggle between the Afghans and the Mughuls, and Orissa remained simply a province of the Mughul Empire until 1751, when the Marhattas obtained it. The remnants of the Afghans still used it as a basis for marauding expeditions; one of which, in 1695-98, attained the dignity of a revolt, and temporarily wrested Bengal and Orissa from the Empire.

In the following pages Hunter has generally adopted Stirling's and Major Stewart's accounts:

A.D. 1621 (A.H. 1031).—Prince Shah Jahan rebels against his father, Emperor Jahangir, and takes possession of Orissa before its Deputy-Governor, Ahmad Bey, could prepare for resistance. He recruits his army by enlisting the Afghan chiefs with their followers into his service, and takes possession of Bardwan.

A.D. 1634 (A.H. 1043).—Shah Jahan, now Emperor of Delhi, gives a *firman* to the English, allowing them to trade with their ships in Bengal; but Azim Khan, then Governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, restricted their vessels from entering any other port than Pippli, near Balasor, and the English established their first factory in Bengal at that place.

A.D. 1636 (A.H. 1046).—Surgeon Gabriel Boughton cures a daughter of the Emperor who had been dreadfully burnt. As a reward to Boughton, his nation is allowed to trade in Bengal and Orissa free of all duties.

A.D. 1640 (A.H. 1050).—Sultan Shuja, Governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, licensed the English to build factories at Balasor and Hugli, in addition to that at Pippli, in reward for the success of Surgeon Boughton in curing a sick lady of the Governor's seraglio.

A.D. 1685-1688 (A.H. 1097-1100).—East India Company makes war with the Mughuls. The Balasor Governor threatens our factory, and imprisons two of our English servants. Captain Heath accordingly attacks and plunders the town. (29th November 1688).

A.D. 1695 (A.H. 1107).—Revolt of Subha Sinh in Bengal. He is joined by the Orissa Afghans under Rahim Khan. Bengal and Orissa fall into the hands of the rebels, but are afterwards reconquered by the Imperial troops.

A.D. 1706 (A.H. 1118).—Murshid Kuli Khan, Governor of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, appoints his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan, Deputy-Governor of Orissa, with two Brahmans, Bhupati Ray and Kisor Ray, as his secretaries. The District of Midnapur, which heretofore formed a part of Orissa, was at this time annexed to Bengal.

A.D. 1725 (A.H. 1139).—Death of Murshid Kuli Khan Shuja-ud-din, Governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He appoints Muhammad Taki, his illegitimate son, as his Deputy

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in Orissa. On the north, the remainder of the old Jaleswar Division (Sarkar) lying between Tamluk, Midnapur, and the river Subarnarekha, was, with the exception of a few small Fiscal Divisions, annexed to Bengal. On the south, the Nizam's Government took possession of the estate of Tikali Raghunathpur and the Chilka Lake, belonging to the Raja of Khurdha (Raja Ram Chandra Deo), who rebelled, but, after a long struggle, he was captured and taken as a prisoner to Cattack. The priests of Jagannath fled with the sacred image across the Chilka Lake, on account of the oppressions of the Deputy. Twenty-two police stations were established in the jurisdiction of the Khurdha estate, in order to keep in check the turbulent spirit of the people.

A.D. 1734 (A.H. 1147).—Death of Muhammad Taki Khan. Murshid Kuli Khan, son-in-law of Shuja-ud-din, appointed Deputy-Governor of Orissa. He induced the priests to bring back the idol of Jagannath to the temple, as the absence of it seriously affected he public revenues. Important financial reforms in the Province, inaugurated by Mir Habib, who assisted the Deputy as his Diwan. Excessive cheapness of food ; rice selling at 320 lbs. for a shilling in Bengal.

A.D. 1739 (A.H. 1151).—Shuja-ud-din dies. Sarfaraz Khan becomes Governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

A.D. 1740 (A.H. 1153).—Ali Vardi Khan defeats Sarfaraz Khan, who is slain in the battle, and usurps the throne. He requests Murshid Kuli Khan to retire from Orissa. The latter refuses. Ali Vardi Khan marches towards Orissa with 12,000 men. Murshid Kuli Khan is defeated on the north of Balasor, and embarks on board a ship for Masulipatam. Ali Vardi Khan marches to Cattack, and gives the Government of the Province to his nephew, Sayyid Ahmad. The new Deputy becomes very unpopular. The people rise, and imprison him in his own house. One Bakhir Khan now assumed the Government of Orissa. Ali Vardi Khan defeats Bakhir Khan on the banks of the Mahanadi, and rescues his nephew. He appoints Muhammad Masum Khan to the Deputy-Governorship of Orissa.

A.D. 1741-2 (A.H. 1154-5).—Ali Vardi Khan returns to Bengal, and encamps at Midnapur, when he hears that the Marhattas have invaded the country by way of Orissa. He marches towards Bardwan and fights several small engagements with the Marhattas. Eventually Bhaskar Pandit, the Marhatta general, demands a million sterling and all the elephants (Bengal Governor's) as the price of his quitting the country ; but is refused. The Marhattas devastate Bengal and seize Orissa, killing the Governor, but are finally defeated and driven out. Abdul Rasul Khan is appointed Governor of Orissa.

A.D. 1745 (A.H. 1157).—Raghuji Bhonsla, the Marhatta, invades Bengal, reduces Orissa, and on his return to his own

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kingdom at Nagpur, leaves Mir Habib to defend the newly-acquired Province.

A.D. 1747 (A.H. 1160).—Mir Jaffar appointed by the Bengal Governor to expel the Marhattas and Afghans from Cattack, but fails. Ataulla Khan supersedes Mir Jaffar, and defeats the Marhattas near Bardwan. Ali Vardi, the Bengal Governor, now takes the command himself, and defeats the Marhattas in several engagements. The Afghans in Behar revolt, and the Marhattas join them, but are defeated.

A.D. 1750 (A.H. 1162).—Janoji, the son of Raghuji the Marhatta, returns to his own country (Nagpur), leaving a body of Marhattas under Mir Habib for the defence of Cattack.

A.D. 1751 (A.H. 1164).—Ali Vardi Khan, the Bengal Governor, marched towards Cattack to expel the Marhattas from Orissa, but cannot bring them to a decisive engagement. He practically cedes to them the Province of Orissa, and engages to pay twelve lakhs of rupees a-year as the *Chauth* for Bengal.

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APPENDIX III

THE LITERATURE OF ORISSA

Being an Analytical Catalogue of 107 Oriya Writers, Alphabetically Arranged; with a Brief Description of 47 MSS. of Undetermined Authorship

The following pages are based upon manuscripts (vernacular and English), chiefly supplied by T. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Orissa.

I. ABHIMANYU SAMANT SINHAR; lived about 100 years ago. The most celebrated and popular of his works are, (1) Bidagdha Chintamani and (2) Priti Chintamani, the subject of both being the amours and adventures of Krishna and Radha.[1]

II. ACHYUTANAND DAS; lived about 100 years ago; his works are Anant Goyi, or 'The Eternal Mystery', a religious book containing an account of the penances and austerities which the ancient sages performed for the sake of their salvation; (2) Achyutanand Malika, a prophetical work; and (3) Sapta Bhagvata, or a version of the Vaishnava Scriptures in Sanskrit, called the Bhagvata.[2]

III. ARAT DAS; period not known; author of Jagannath Janana, which consists of prayers to, and praises of, Jagannath.

IV. BALBHADRA BHANJ; period not known; a Raja of Gumsar, and supposed to be the ancestor of Upendra Bhanj, another prince of the same State, and the most eminent of the Orissa poets. His work is called Bhababati, a romance relating the love adventures of a prince.

V. BALRAM DAS; lived 300 years ago; a Vaishnav of Puri, and author of numerous works, of which the twenty-three following are the chief: (1) Bedha Parikrama, or 'A Walk around the Sacred Enclosures of the Puri Temple', a poetical work describing the various minor shrines and deities connected with the temple of Jagannath; (2) Arjuna Gita, a religious poem; (3) Bhaba Samudra, an ethical poem; (4) Bhagvata Gita, a Vaishnava Scripture translated from the Sanskrit, constantly read and quoted by the Oriyas; (5) Bhakti Rasamrita Sindhu, or 'The Sea of the Nectar of Faith', a work on devotional subjects; (6)

[1] Abhimanyu Samanta Sinhar:—Was born in 1757 at Balia in Cuttack District. His other works are—Sulaksana, Rasavati, Premakala and Prema Tarangini.

[2] Achyutananda Das:—A contemporary of Sri Chaitanya, lived in the 16th century. His other works are:—Harivansa, Gopalanka Ogala, Jnanodaya Koili, Anakara Samhita, Sunya Samhita, Kaibarta Gita etc.

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Bhuta Keli, the sports of Krishna and Radha; (7) Birata Gita, an ethical poem; (8) Chandi Puran, an account of the destruction of the buffalo demon Mahishasur by Chandi, a name of the Goddess Kali; (9) Chhatisa Gita, a religious poem; (10) Gaja Nistarana Gita, a tale of the Mahabharata, regarding the rescue of an elephant from the teeth of a tortoise; (11) Ganesa Beguti, (should be Bihbuti) a poem on religious subjects; (12) Garura Gita, a rather famous work on metaphysical subjects; (13) Gita Sara, an ethical work; (14) Gupta Gita, a poem containing metaphysical and ethical discourses between Krishna and Arjuna, the third Pandava; (15) Krishna Lila, or the sports of Krishna; (16) Mahabharata, an Oriya version of the Sanskrit Epic of the same name; (17) Mrugini Stuti, a tale of the deliverance of a roe from distress by Parasurama, and her praises to her deliverer; (18) Namaratna Gita, a religious poem; (19) Ramayana, an Oiya version of the Sanskrit Epic of the same name; (20) Rasabinoda, the sports of Radha and Krishna; (21) Rasakeli, the same.; (22) Sarira Bhugola, metaphysical and theological discourses between Krishna and Arjuna; and (23) Tula Bhina, the same.[3]

VI. BARDDHAMAN MAHAPATRA; lived six hundred years ago; a Brahman of Puri, and a Sanskrit author of some note; his works are, (1) Barddhaman Karika; and (2) Durgotsaba Chandrika, both in Sanskrit, the former on Smriti (Hindu Law), and the latter about the worship of the ten-handed goddess Durga, another name and form of Kali.

VII. BASUDEVA MISRA; period unknown; a Brahman who wrote two Sanskrit grammatical works: (1) Basu Prakriya; and (2) Sara Manjari.

VIII. BASUDEVA SARMA; period not known; a Brahman who wrote a Sanskrit work on rhetoric, called the Sahitya Darpana Tika Prabha Smriti.

IX. BASUDEVA TRIPATHI; period unknown; a Brahman who compiled a Sanskrit book on Hindu rites and ceremonies, called the Prayaschitta Bilochana.

X. BASU RATH BAJAPAYI; period unknown; author of a Sanskrit work on Smriti (Hindu Law) which bears his own name.

XI. BHAGABAN KABIRAJ; lived 600 years ago; author of a noted work in Sanskrit, written in a dramatical style, called the Gundicha Champa, describing the Bathing and the Car Festivals of Jagannath. There is another Gundicha Champa by Chakapani Patnaik. Champa should be Champu.

[3] Balaram Das:—Lived in the last quarter of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. His father was Somanatha Mahapatra and mother Manomaya. He was the author of many more books not mentioned by Hunter. They are Brahma Purana, Kanta Koili, Laksmi Purana, Durga Stuti, Rama Bibha, Kamala Lochan Cahutisa, Baramasi, Sabha Vinoda, Brahmanda Bhugola, Amarakosa Gita, Baulagi Gita.

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XII. Bhakta Charan Das Kabi; lived 150 years ago; author of Mathura Mangal, a famous work on the sports of Krishna and Radha, the MS. of which was lately published in Cattack.[4]

XIII. Bhikari Patnaik; period unknown; wrote a small drama, Lankadayana (should be Lanka Dahana) Natika, on the conquest of Lanka (Ceylon) by Rama Chandra.

XIV. Bhima Das; lived 200 years ago; a Vaishnav of Puri who wrote a book, Bhakti Ratnamala, on religious subjects.

XV. Bhima Dhibara; lived 150 years ago; a highly esteemed poet of the fisherman caste. His works are, (1) Kapat-pasa, a tale from the Mahabharata, of the loss of his kingdom at dice-playing, by Yudhisthir; and (2) Bharat Sabitri, a poetical version of the Bharat.[5]

XVI. Bidyakar Purohita; lived 200 years ago; a Brahman who wrote a Sanskrit book, Narayan Shataka, on Narayan, another name of Vishnu.

XVII. Bidyakar Bajapayi; period unknown; wrote a Sanskrit work on Smriti, called the Bidyakar Paddhati.

XVIII. Bipra Kantha Das; lived 250 years ago; he wrote two popular books called (1) Napai; and (2) Chhapai (should be Napoi and Chhapoi), containing small ballads on the early sports of Krishna.

XIX. Biswa Nath Das Kabi, *alias* Purushottama Biswa Nath Khuntia; lived 300 years ago; a writer of great celebrity, and author of the Bichitra Ramayana, or 'The Wonderful Rama-yana' an Oriya version of the original Sanskrit Epic. Of all the versions of the Ramayana in Oriya, this is the most popular, and passages from it are still recited by dancing boys when the scenes and events of the epic are acted on the stage.[6]

XX. Biswa Nath Patjosi; period not known; a Brahman who wrote a Sanskrit drama, Usha Parinaya Natak, which gives an account of the love and marriage of Usha, the daughter of King Ban, with Aniruddha, grandson of Krishna.

XXI. Biswa Nath Nama Pandit; lived 300 years ago; wrote a Sanskrit book, Smriti Sar, on Hindu Religious and Domestic Law.

XXII. Biswambhara Misra Kabi; lived 200 years ago. His work is Bichitra Bharat, or 'The Wonderful Bharata', a poetical translation of the Aranya and the Birat volumes of the Mahabharat, very popular with the Oriyas.

XXIII. Braja Nath Das; period not known. His works are, (1) Ambika Bilas, or 'The Love of Ambika', a tale from the

[4] Kalakalebara Chautisa and Manabodha Chautisa were also written by Bhakta Charan Das.

[5] Bhima Dhibara:—Lived in the second half of the 18th Century.

[6] Biswanatha Khuntia:—Flourished during the reign of Divyasinha Deva in the latter part of 18th and early part of 19th century.

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Mâhabharat; (2) Samara Taranga, a poem on war; and (3) Gundicha Bije, a poem on Jagannath's journey to his country seat during the Car Festival, with his brother Balbhadra and sister Subhadra.[7]

XXIV. CHAKRA DATTA; a Bengali Kayasth; period unknown. He wrote a medical work which bears his own name, and is consulted by native physicians in the country south of Cattack.

XXV. CHAKRAPANI PATNAIK; lived 150 years ago; a Karan who wrote a Sanskrit work called the Gundicha Champá, (should be 'Champu') describing the Bathing, the Car, and other festivals of Jagannath.

XXVI. CHANDRA MANI MOHANTA; lived 150 years ago. His works are, (1) Sudarsan Bilas, a Sanskrit work on the amours and sports of Sudarsan; (2) Hansa Dut, a translation of the work of the same name of Rup Goswami, the Bengali Vaishnav; and (3) Sabda Kalpa Lata, a Sanskrit lexicography.

XXVII. CHANDRA SIKHARA RAYA GURU; period unknown; a Brahman, and the religious preceptor of the king. He wrote Madhuraniruddha Natak, a Sanskrit drama on the adventures of Aniruddha, Krishn's grandson. This work is much esteemed by the Oriya Pandits.

XXVIII. DHANANJAY BHANJ; period unknown; a Gumsar Raja who composed two books: (1) Raghu Nath Bilas; and (2) Rama Bilas, both based upon the Ramayana.[8]

XXIX. DHANI DAS; lived 150 years ago; wrote a Sanskrit book on astrology called the Nakshatra Katapaya.

XXX. DHARANI DHAR; lived about 250 years ago; translated in verse the celebrated poem, Gita Govinda of Jayadeva Goswami.

XXXI. DIBAKAR MISRA; lived 200 years ago; wrote the book Jagannath Charitamitra, on Jagannath.[9]

XXXII. DIBYA SINH MAHAPATRA; lived 200 years ago; wrote two Sanskrit books: (1) One on Hindu Law; and (2) The other on Hindu funeral ceremonies.

[7] The books assigned to Brajanath Das were actually written by Brajanatha Badajena of Dhenkanal. His Samara Taranga describes the battle which was fought between Trilochan Mahindra Bahadur, King of Dhenkanal (1764-1798) and the Marhatta Chief, Rajaram Pandit. His other works are Shyama Rasotsaba, a book on the Rasa sports of Krishna, and Chatura Vinoda, a book of four tales in Prose. Some are of opinion that the author of Ambika Vilasa was Balabhadra Bhanj, a King of Keonjhar and not Brajanath.

[8] Dhananjaya Bhanja lived in the 17th century and died in 1701. Besides the two books mentioned, he wrote Chaupadi Bhusana, Tripura Sundari, Madana Manjari, Anangarekha and Ichhavati. All these books except the first are romantic poems.

[9] Divakara Das lived in the sixteenth century. He was a disciple of Sri Jagannath Das and wrote his biography 'Jagannatha Charitamrita.'

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XXXIII. DINBANDHU DAS; period unknown; a Brahman, author of a work called Chhanda Charu Prabha, on love matters.

XXXIV. DINBANDHU RAYA; lived 250 years ago; a Raja of one of the Tributary States who wrote a book called the Radha Bilas, about the amours of Radha.

XXXV. DINA KRISHNA DAS, also called SINDHU; lived about 300 years ago; a Karan Vaishnava, and so popular an author that he is considered to be the son of god Jagannath. His works are written in an elegant and remarkably simple style, and his descriptions of natural scenery are often very beautiful. The following fifteen of his works still enjoy a wide popularity among high and low:—(1) Rasakallol, or 'The Waves of Sentiment', an account of the early sports of Krishna; (2) Chakradhar Bilas, a work on the same subject; (3) Madhusudan Bilas, another work on the same subject; (4) Madhabakar Gita, a medical work; (5) Arttatran Chautisa, hymns addressed to Jagannath; (6) Baramasi Koili, or 'The Twelve Months' Cuckoo', a lamentation of Rama's mother on her son's exile; (7) Jagomohana, on Jagannath; (8) Samudrika, a rare book on palmistry, translated from the Sanskrit; (9) Gundicha Bije, a poem describing Jagannath's journey to his country house during the Car Festival; (10) Pratap Sindhu, (read Prastaba Sindhu) a book said to contain lectures which the sage Vasishtha delivered to King Dasaratha, Rama's father; (11) Guna Sagara, a poem on Krishna's early life; (12) Ujwala Nilmani Karika, a work in prose describing the amours of Krishna and Radha; (13) Radha Kanacha, (read Kavacha), a work containing certain incantations and ceremonies; (14) Dwadasa Kunja Lila, on amorous sports of Krishna; and (15) Krishna Das Bali, (read Boli), a medical work.[10]

XXXVI. GADAHAR MAHAPATRA RAYA GURU; lived 200 years ago; the religious preceptor of the Orissa Raja. He wrote the following works in Sanskrit: (1) Kala Sara; (2) Sraddha Sara; and (3) Achara Sara, on Hindu rites and ceremonies, etc.

XXXVII. GADADHAR PATNAIK; lived 170 years ago; wrote a book on amorous subjects, called Rasa Kalpa Lata.

XXXVIII. GOPAL BHANJ; lived 600 years ago; contempo-

[10]There has been a good deal of controversy as to whether the author of Rasakallola and Jagamohan Chhanda is same as the author of Rasa Vinoda. Dinakrishna Das, the author of Rasavinoda describes himself as the son of a Rajaput living in Jaleswar on the banks of Subarnarekha, while tradition has it that Dinakrishna Das, the author of 'Rasa Kallola' was a Karan Vaishnav of Puri, whose life is portrayed by Rama Das in Dardhyata Bhakti. Prof. Artaballabha Mahanti has proved that the authors of Rasakallola and Rasa Vinoda are not different persons but one and the same.

Besides the works mentioned by Hunter the following books were also written by Dinakrishna Das—Rasabinoda, Madhu Mangala, Bhutakeli, Sansara Bodhaka, Amrita Sagara, Jnana Sagara, Namaratna Gita and several Chautisas.

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rary with King Languliya Narsinh, who built the Black Pagoda at Kanarak, on the shore of Orissa. He is the author of the Arka Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work describing the sanctity and the building of the temple.

XXXIX. GOPENDRA; lived 200 years ago; author of a rather popular book, called Madhupa-Chautisa, on the sports of Krishna among the shepherd-maids of Brindaban.

XL. GOPI NATH KABI BHUSHAN; lived 200 years ago; wrote (1) Kabi Chintamani, a treatise on the rules of versification; and (2) Rama Chandra Bihara, an account of the adventures of Rama.

XLI. GOPI NATH RATH; lived 150 years ago; a Brahman, and a Sanskrit commentator on the poets. His works are, (1) Hansadut Tika; and (2) Nishadha Tika, Sanskrit commentaries on Hansadut and Nishadha.

XLII. GOVINDA DAS; lived about 250 years ago; a native of the Tributary State of Tigaria, who wrote a Sanskrit grammar called the Prakriya Sara Byakaran.

XLIII. GOVINDA DAS; lived 260 years ago; a Brahman Vaishnav who wrote a book called Charana Sudhanidhi, a penegyric on Vishnu in two of his incarnations.

XLIV. GOVINDA SANTRA; lived 300 years ago; a Brahman, author of (1) Suri Sarbaswa; and (2) Bira Sarbaswa, both in Sanskrit, two treatises of laws, morals, etc.

XLV. HARA DAS; lived about 100 years ago; wrote a prophetical work called the Hara Das Malika.

XLVI. HARI CHANDAN DEVA; lived 300 years ago; a Raja of one of the Tributary States; author of a work called Lilabati, a poem containing an account of the amours of Lilabati, daughter of the Chola Raja, and Chandra Bhanu, prince of the Anga Des.

XLVII. HALADHAR DAS; lived about 500 years ago; wrote the following works: (1) Adhyatmya Ramayana, another Oriya version of the Ramayana; and (2) Haladhar Karika, a work on Hindu Religious and Social Law.

XLVIII. HANUMAN MISRA; period unknown; wrote commentations on the celebrated Sanskrit drama, Mahanataka.

XLIX. HARIHAR KABI; lived about 300 years ago; author of Suchitra Ramayana, a version of the Ramayana in verse, which almost equals the Bichitra Ramayana in elegance of style.

L. HARIHAR ACHARJYA; lived about 300 years ago; author of a Sanskrit work on Hindu Religious and Social Law, called the Samaya Pradip.

LI. HARI KRISHNA MAHAPATRA; period unknown; wrote Rukmini Bilas, an account of the amusements of Krishna's wife, Rukmini.

LII. HARI NAIK; lived 650 years ago; wrote Gita Prakas, a Sanskrit work containing hymns to gods.

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LIII. JADUMANI BHANJ; lived 250 years ago; a Raja of Gumsar; author of Rukmini Bilas, an account of the sports of Krishna and his wife Rukmini.

LIV. JAGANNATH DAS; lived 350 years ago; wrote the following works: (1) Pashanda Dalana, or 'The Destruction of the Sinners', a religious work; (2) Bhagvat, a translation of the Vaishnava Scriptures Bhagvat, which is very often read and quoted by the Oriyas; (3) Manasiksha, a series of discourses between the sages Suka and Sanaka about the youthful sports of Krishna; and (4) Jagannath Karika, a Sanskrit work on Smriti, or Hindu Religious and Domestic Law. His works are esteemed by the people.[11]

LV. JALANTARA KABI SURJYA RAYA GURU; lived about 150 years ago; a native of Parikud; author of the following works: (1) Chaupadi, a collection of verses; (2) Kesari Chandra Champa, (read Champu), on the loves of Radha and Krishna; (3) Ananda Damodar Champa, (read Champu), on the same subject; and (4) Hasyarnaba, comic verses. The first three are written partly in Oriya and partly in Sanskrit.[12]

LVI. KABI CHANDRA RAGHU NATH PARIKSHA; lived 600 years ago; wrote the Sanskrit drama of Gopi Nath Ballabh Nataka, on the sports and amusements of Krishna among the shepherdesses of Brindaban. This writer was a contemporary of King Languliya Narsinh Deva.

LVII. KABINDRA NARAYANA SARMA; lived 1200 years ago; a contemporary of King Lalat Indra Kesari; wrote the two Sanskrit works: (1) Ekambra Chandrika; and (2) Biraja Mahatmya, on the sanctity of the sacred places of Bhuvaneswar and Jajpur. Both enjoy a considerable reputation.

LVIII. KALI DAS CHOYINI NAMA PANDIT; (*Nama Pandit* is not a part of the poet's name. In means a Pandit named Kali Das Chayini); lived 500 years ago; author of Suddhi Chandrika, a Sanskrit work on Hindu Law.

LIX. KARNAMGIRI; lived 100 years ago; an ascetic who wrote the Bhakti Rasamrita, a book on devotional subjects, and a work of some note among the people.

LX. KESAB DAS KABI; lived 200 years ago; author of Suchitra Bharata, an abstract of the Mahabharata in Oriya.

LXI. KRISHNA DAS; period not known; wrote the following books: (1) *Pinsa* (read Piyusa) Ratnakar, on devotional subjects;

[11] He was also the author of Gupta Bhagabata, Daru Brahma Gita, Artha Koili, Gaja Stuti, Mruguni Stuti, Dhruba Stuti, Tula Bhina, Itihasa Purana.

[12] Kavi Surya Raya Guru Baladeb Rath of Jalantara, an estate in Ganjam district, lived till about 1868. His fame as a poet chiefly rests on Kishora Chandranana Champu (wrongly stated as Kesari Chandra Champu by Hunter). His incomplete poetic romance Chandrakala and Ratnakara Champu also deserve mention.

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(2) Git Govinda, an Oriya version of Jayadeva's Git Govinda; and (3) Bhagvat, a translation of the original work in Sanskrit.

LXII. KRISHNA MISRA; lived 250 years ago; his works are, (1) Prabodha Chandrodaya Natika, a Sanskrit drama; (2) Sahitya Ratnakar Alankar Tika, a commentary on Sanskrit rhetoric; and (3) Krishna Misra Prakriya, a Sanskrit grammar.

LXIII. KRISHNA SINHA; lived 200 years ago; translated the Bharata, Ramayana, and Bhagvat from the Sanskrit, and paraphrased the Haribansa, a noted work on the family of Krishna.[13]

LXIV. KRUPA SINDHU DAS; lived 200 years ago; wrote the following books: Sri Jagannath Stuti, prayers to Jagannath; and (2) Braja Bihara, sports of Krishna among the shepherd-maids of Brindaban.

LXV. KRUPA SINDHU PATNAIK; lived 300 years ago; his works are, Dasa Bali Braja Bihara, sports of Krishna at Brindaban; (2) Kamala Kant Chautisa, on Krishna's adventures; and (3) a poem on the same subject called the Sajani Chautisa.

LXVI. KUNJA BEHARI PATNAIK; lived 150 years ago; author of Kunja Behari, (read Bihara) a poetical work about Krishna.

LXVII. LAKSHMIDHAR DAS; lived 200 years ago; wrote the work, Angadapari, an account of Rama's embassy to Ravana, King of Ceylon.

LXVIII. LAKSHMIDHAR MISRA; lived 200 years ago; a native of Bhuvaneswar, and author of Saivakalpadruma, a Sanskrit work on rituals to be observed in the worship of Siva.

LXIX. LOK NATH BIDYADHAR; lived 200 years ago; wrote the following works: (1) Chitrakala, on love adventures; (2) Sarbanga Sundari, a poetical romance; (3) Chittotpala; (4) Parimala; and (5) Rasakala, all on love matters.[14]

LXX. LOK NATH DAS; lived 100 years ago; author of (1) Karikabali, and (2) Karmakanda, both Sanskrit works on rites and ceremonies.

LXXI. LOK NATH NAIK; lived 150 years ago; wrote Khari Lilabati, a mathematical work in Oriya verse.

LXXII. MADHAVA KAR; lived 400 years ago; wrote Madhava Kar, a Sanskrit work on medicine. This work is very much esteemed, and is consulted by physicians in the country north of Cattack.

LXXIII. MAGUNI PATNAIK; lived 150 years ago; his work is Ramachandra Bihara, on the adventures of Rama.

LXXIV. MAHADEVA DAS; lived 200 years ago; writer of (1) Padma Puran; (2) Markanda Puran; (3) Magh Mahatmya;

[13] Krishna Sinha (1729-1788) who translated the whole of the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and wrote the Harivansa in Oriya verse was a king of Dharakote in Ganjam District.

[14] Lokanath Bidyadhar lived in Banpur of Puri district. Besides those mentioned, Padmavati Parinaya is a well known work of the author. He belonged to the 18th century.

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(4) Baisakh Mahatmya; (5) Kartik Mahatmya; and (6) Ramayana, all translations from the Sanskrit works of the same name.

LXXV. MANIKYA DEVA PANDIT; period unknown; wrote Suddhi Guchchha, a Sanskrit work on rites of purification.

LXXVI. MARKANDA DAS; lived 600 years ago; his works are, (1) Kesab Kaili, (read Koili), complaints of Jasoda, Krishna's mother; and (2) Gyan Udaya Kaili, (read Koili), a theological work.

LXXVII. NARAYAN ACHARJYA; lived 300 years ago; author of Sulakshana, a poem on love affairs.

LXXVIII. NARAYAN PUROHITA; lived 700 years ago; author of Brata Ratnakar, a tretise on versification, written in a kind of Oriya verse called the Chhanda.

LXXIX. NIDHI RATH; lived 300 years ago; translated into Oriya the Ritu Sanhar of Kalidas.

LXXX. NILMBAR BHANJ; lived 150 years ago; a Raja of Haldia, and author of (1) Krishna Lilamrita, on the sports of Krishna; and (2) Pancha Sayaka, on love matters.

LXXXI. NILAMBAR DAS; lived 400 years ago; his work is Jaimini Bharata, an Oriya version of the Mahabharata.

LXXXII. NARSINH BAJPAYI; lived 300 years ago; author of (1) Achar Pradip; (2) Vyavastha Pradip; (3) Prayaschitta Pradip; (4) Bajapayi Smriti; and (5) Dana Sagara, all in Sanskrit, on Hindu ceremonies, rites, the virtue of bestowing alms and gifts, etc.

LXXXIII. NARSINH PATNAIK; lived 90 years ago; wrote a Sanskrit lexicography in verse, called the Sabda Mala.

LXXXIV. PADMA NATH DEVA; lived 400 years ago; a Raja of one of the Tributary States who wrote a romance called the Prabhabati.

LXXXV. PADMA NATH PARIKSHA; lived 150 years ago; author of Gita Tala Prabandha, a work giving instructions on music.

LXXXVI. PITAMBARA RAJENDRA; lived 200 years ago; a Raja of one of the Tributary States; wrote Ramalila, sports of Ramachandra.

LXXXVII. PINDIKI SRI CHANDANA; period unknown; his work is Mukundâ Mala Gita, a book of hymns and invocations.

LXXXVIII. PITAMBARA MISRA KABI CHANDANA; lived 150 years ago; his works are the following: (1) Gundicha Champa, (read Champu), a Sanskrit work on Jagannath's journey to his country house during the Car Festival; (2) Narayana Shataka Tika, a commentary on the Sanskrit work Narayana Shataka; (3) Jatakalankar Tika, a commentary on the Sanskrit astrological work Jatakalankar; (4) Rama Birudabali, a Sanskrit work on Rama Chandra's adventures and (5) Pitambari Chandi, a commentary on the Chandi Bhagvat in Sanskrit.

LXXXIX. PITAMBARA DEVA; lived 300 years ago; a Raja

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who wrote a work on devotional subjects, called the Akhila Rasa Chintamani.

XC. PURUSHOTTAMA DAS; lived 200 years ago; translated Gundicha Bije, or the journey of Jagannath to his country seat, from the Sanskrit work of the same name

XCI. PURUSHOTTAMA MISRA; lived 500 years ago; a Brahman, and the author of the following works: (1) Sangita Narayana, Sanskrit hymns, music, etc.; (2) Kshetra Mahatmya, a celebrated work containing an account of Puri and the gods in it; and (3) Niladri Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work on Jagannath, his temple etc.

XCII. PURUSHOTTAMA PARHI; lived 300 years ago; wrote (1) Anarghya Raghava Tika, a commentary on the Sanskrit drama Anarghya Raghaba; (2) Samasta Kabimanankar Tika, Sanskrit commentaries on all the poets; and (3) Amarkosh Tika, a Sanskrit commentary on Amarkosh, the Sanskrit dictionary.

XCIII. RAGHU NATH DAS; lived 150 years ago; a celebrated Sanskrit scholar, author, and commentator. His works are: (1) Baidya Kalpa Latika, a Sanskrit work on physics; (2) Prayaschitta Tarangini, a Sanskrit work regarding purification from pollution; (3) Amarkosh Tika, a commentary on the Sanskrit dictionary Amarkosh; (4) Raghu Nath Das Prakriya, a Sanskrit grammar; (5) Barddhaman Byakaran Tika, a Sanskrit commentary on the Barddhaman Byakaran, a grammar; (6) Samasta Kabimanankar Tika, a commentary on all the poets; (7) Sanskrita Manjari, a Sanskrit work on rules of grammar; (8) Raghuvansa Tika, a Sanskrit commentary on Kali Das's Raghuvansa, a work on the ancestors of Rama; and (9) Utpata Tarangini, a Sanskrit poem.

XCIV. RAMA CHANDRA BAJAPAYI; lived 400 years ago; a Puri Brahman who wrote a Sanskrit work on Hindu social and Religious Law, called the Karmanga Paddhati.

XCV. RAMA CHANDRA DAS; lived 200 years ago; his works are, (1) Balbhadra Bali, concerning Krishna and (2) Chaupadis, a small book of poems.

XCVI. RAMA CHANDRA PATNAIK; lived 500 years ago; author of (1) Harabati, a romance; (2) Saiva Chintamani, in Sanskrit, regarding the worship of Siva.

XCVII. RAMA KRISHNA RATHA; period unknown; wrote a Sanskrit commentary on rhetoric called the Sahitya Ratnakar Alankar.

XCVIII. SADAJAYA; period unknown; author of (1) Sarala Stuti, the prayers to a village goddess, Sarala; (2) Mangala Stuti, eulogies on a village goddess, Mangala; and (3) eulogies on the goddess Bimala of Puri.

XCIX. SADANANDA KABI SURYYA BRAHMA; lived 167 years ago; a popular writer on ethics, devotional subjects, etc; his works are, (1) Nistara Nilamani; (2) Namachintamani; (3) Prema

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Panchamrita ; (4) Jugal Rasamrita Lahari ; (5) Prema Tarangini ; (6) Prema Lahari ; (7) Prema Bhaunri ; and (8) Jugal Rasamrita Chaunri ; all devotional or theological works.[15]

C. SAMBHU KAR BAJAPAYI ; lived 150 years ago ; a Brahman who wrote a Sanskrit book on Hindu Social and Religious Law called after his name.

CI. SARALA DAS KABI ; lived 300 years ago ; translated Mahabharata into Oriya.[16]

CII. SISU DAMA DAS ; period unknown ; author of Daru Brahma Gita, an interesting work on the discovery of the Daru Brahma, and the consecration of the Puri temple to Jagannath.

CIII. SISU SANKARA DAS ; lived 250 years ago ; translated the Sanskrit drama, Ushaparinaya Nataka, into Oriya.[17]

CIV. SRIDHAR DAS ; lived about 300 years ago ; a native of Banki, one of the Tributary States, who wrote a work called the Kanchan Lata, the early sports of Krishna.

CV. SRIPATI DAS ; lived 700 years ago ; a celebrated Brahman astrologer, and author of the famous work on astrology which bears his own name, Sripati, from which the yearly Oriya almanacs are drawn up.

CVI. TRIPURARI DAS ; lived 200 years ago ; produced, (1) Katapaya, a Sanskrit astrological work ; (2) Kerala Gita, an astrological work ; (3) Rama Krishna Keli Kallol, a work on Rama and Krishna ; and (4) Radha Krishna Keli Kallol, a work on Krishna and Radha.

CVII. UPENDRA BHANJ ; a Raja of Gumsar, and the most eminent of all the Oriya poets ; lived 300 years ago. His works are, (1) Abana Rasa Taranga, a work on Rama Chandra's Adventures ; (2) Bachantisa, (Ba-Chantisa is not a work of Upendra Bhanja), songs on Krishna ; (3) Baidehi (read Baidehisa) Bilas, on the adventures of Rama ; (4) Bhababati, a romance ; (5) Braja Lila, sports of Krishna ; (6) Chandra Kala, (the author of Chandrakala is Kavisurya Baladeb Rath), a romance ; (7) Chandra Rekha, a romance ; (8) Chaupadi Bhushana, a small love piece ; (9) Chaupadi Chandra, a small love piece ; (10) Chhanda Bhushana, a treatise on versification ; (11) Chitra Lekha, a romance ; (12) Chitra Kabya Bandhodaya, a treatise on versification ; (13) Duha, ethical tales ; (14) Gaha, ethical tales ; (15)

[15] His name was Sadhu Charan Das but later he took the name of Sadananda. He was a native of Nayagarh, an ex-feudatory state. Birakisore Dev (1727-1783), King of Khurdha conferred on him the title of Kavisurya. He lived in the 18th century and was the spiritual guide of Abhimanyu.

[16] Sarala Das was a contemporary of Kapilendra Deva, who ruled over Orissa from 1435 to 1469. His Oriya Mahabharata is not a literal translation of the Sanskrit epic. It reads as an original work. He also wrote Bilanka Ramayana and Chandi Purana.

[17] Sisu Sankara Das is well known as the author of Ushabhilasha—a romantic poem in Oriya which describes the marriage of Usha and Aniruddha.

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Gitabidhana, a lexicography in verse, lately published by the Cattack Mission Press; (16) Hemamanjari, a romance; (17) Ichchhabati, the adventures of Chata and Princess Ichchhabati; (18) Jamaka Raja Chautisa, songs on Krishna; (19) Kalabati, the love adventures of Bharata and Kalabati; (20) Kalakantaka (read Kala Kautuka), enigmas on Krishna's sports; (21) Kamakala, a romance; (22) Koti Brahmanda Sundari, an interesting tale illustrative of woman's constancy and fidelity; (23) Kunja Behara, sports of Krishna; (24) Labanyabati, an account of the loves of Prince Chandrabhanu and Princess Labanyabati, a popular work; (25) Muktabati adventures of Muktabati; (26) Manorama, a romance; (27) Prema Lata, a romance; (28) Prema Sudhanidhi, an account of the Princess Prema Sudhanidhi, the daughter of the King of Kerala; (29) Purushottama Mahatmya, on the sanctity of Puri, its temples, etc.; (30) Rahas Lila, sports of Krishna; (31) Rasa Lekha, adventures of Rasa Lekha, a princess; (32) Rasa Panchaka, songs on the five classes of amorous sentiments; (33) Rasika Harabati, (read Rasika Harabali), a work on amorous subjects; (34) Rama Lilamrita, adventures of Rama Chandra; (35) Rasamanjari, a treatise on rules of versification; (36) Shararitu, a version of Kalidas's Ritu Sanhar; (37) Sangita Kaumadi, a treatise on music; (38) Sasi Rekha, a romance; (39) Sobhabati, adventures of Princess Sobhabati; (40) Subarna Rekha, a romance; (41) Subhadra Parinaya, an account of the marriage of Arjun and Subhadra, Jagannath's sister; and (42) Trailokya Mohini, a romance.

THE AUTHORS OF THE FOLLOWING WORKS ARE DOUBTFUL:—(1) Artha Koili, tales about Krishna; (2) Aswattha Kshetra Mahatmya, on the sanctity of Kujang; (3) Basanta Koili, tales about Krishna; (4) Bharatamrita, a sanskrit poem about Bharata; (5) Bhanja Mahodaya Natika, a small Sanskrit drama; (6) Bhatti Rasamrita Sindhu, a work on devotional subjects; (7) Bidagdha Madhava, on Radha and Krishna; (8) Brahma Gyana, a metaphysical work; (9) Chaitanya Charitamrita, life of Chaitnya, the Vishnuvite reformer of Naddea, translated from the Bengali; (10) Deola Tola, an account of the building of the great temple of Jagannath; (11) Dhwani Manjari, a Sanskrit lexicography; (12) Dwirepha Kos, the same; (13) Ekambra Kshetra, on the sanctity of Bhuvaneswar, its temples, etc.; (14) Ekambra Puran, a local Puran on the same; (15) Ekakshara Kos, a Sanskrit lexicography; (16) Gyana Chandra Churamani, a work on metaphysics; (17) Itihas Lekhana, on the same; (18) Jaleswara Paddhati, a Sanskrit work on Smriti; (19) Kanchikaveri, an interesting tale about the conquest of Conjeveram, and the adventures of Princess Padmavati; (20) Kapila Sanhita, a Sanskrit work on the places of pilgrimage in Orissa, Puri, Kanarak, Bhuvaneswar, and Jajpur; (21) Kosamanjari, a Sanskrit lexicography; (22) Kshetra Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work

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on the sacred places of Orissa; (23) Monanta Nirnaya Rasa, a work on various classes of ascetics; (24) Mantrarnaba, a Sanskrit work on the Tantras, the scriptures of the worshippers of the Wife of Siva; (25) Mahi Mandala, a work on creation; (26) Mukunda Mala, partly in Oriya and partly in Sanskrit, about the adventures of Rama; (27) Naba Brindaban Bihar, on Krishna's sports with the maids of Brindaban; (28) Nanartha Kosh, a Sanskrit dictionary; (29) Nidana Tika, a Sanskrit commentary on Nidan, a book of medicine; (30) Parijat Haran, a small Sanskrit drama on Krishna's forciby taking away the Parijat flower from the garden of the god-king of Heaven; (31) Prachi Mahatmya, in Sanskrit, on the sanctity of the small river Prachi; (32) Premloka Nataka, a Sanskrit drama; (33) Purushottama Kshetra Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work on Puri; (34) Radhamrita Gita, on Radha and Krishna; (35) Rama Sita Ballabh Natak, a Sanskrit drama on Rama and his wife Sita; (36) Rama Lila Natak, another Sanskrit drama of the same sort; (37) Sabda Kosh Tola, a Sanskrit grammar; (38) Sampradaya Siddha, a Sanskrit work on Hindu Law; (39) Sahendayananda, a poem in Sanskrit, (read Sahridayananda); (40) Siva Puran, a translation of the original Sanskrit work; (41) Siva Lilamrita, concerning the sports of Siva; (42) Slokabali, a Sanskrit work; (43) Surjya Kshetra Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work on the sanctity of the temple of Kanarak; (44) Tantra Sara, a Sanskrit work on the Tantras; (45) Tattwarnaba, a Sanskrit work on medicine; (46) Tulasi Kshetra Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work on the sanctity of Kendrapara; and (47) Utkal Mahatmya, in Sanskrit, an account of the holy places in Orissa.

In the names of books and authors I have sometimes transliterated from the Sanskrit orthography, sometimes from the Oriya form, the latter being generally followed when the name is a very common or popular one among the inhabitants of Orissa. Many of them, although not professedly translations, are paraphrases or compilations rather than original works.

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